

A Grammar of Pahari

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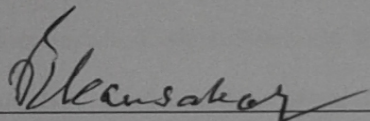
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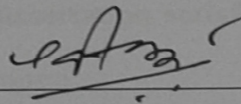
RECOMMENDATION LETTER

We hereby recommend that this dissertation, entitled **A GRAMMAR OF PAHARI** prepared by Mr. Omkareshwor Shrestha under our supervision and guidance, be accepted by the research committee for the final examination in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of doctor of philosophy in linguistics.

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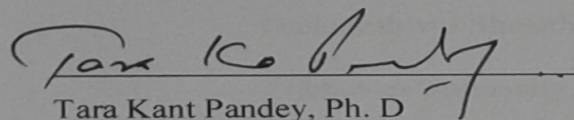


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APPROVAL LETTER

The dissertation entitled **A GRAMMAR OF PAHARI** was submitted by Mr. Omkareshwor Shrestha for final examination by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Philosophy in Linguistics. I hereby certify that the Research Committee of this Faculty has found the dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has therefore accepted it for the sought degree.



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Date: August 27, 2012

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Ph.D dissertation entitled **A GRAMMAR OF PAHARI** submitted to the office of the Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, is an entirely original work prepared under the supervision of my supervisor Prof. Dr Tej R. Kansakar. I have made due acknowledgements to all items and information borrowed from different sources in the course of writing this dissertation. The results presented in this dissertation have not been presented or submitted anywhere else for the award of any degree or for the award of any degree or for any other purposes. No part of the contents of this dissertation has been published in any form before. I shall be solely responsible if any evidence is found against my declaration.

Date: 2012 August 27

Omkareshwor Shrestha

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Omkareshwor Shrestha

ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents a linguistic description of Pahari (also known as Kodpa) language. Pahari is an undescribed Tibeto-Burman language, spoken at the Kodku hamlet, Badikhel VDC, Lalitpur district, Nepal.

The main goal of the study is to analyze the forms and functions of different grammatical categories of Pahari language. The study examines how the morphosyntactic structure in Pahari manifests the subtle relationship between linguistic forms and their functions at the sentence level.

This work is basically a descriptive study organized under the following major topics. Chapter 1 presents a review of literature, apart from the objectives and research methodology of the study. Chapter 2 discusses Pahari language, people and their culture. *Pihibhae* or *pi:bhae* is an autoglotonym whereas Kodpa is the exonym. Noonan (2003:23) placed Kathmandu, Dolakha and Pahari Newar in the Newarish sub-section of Himalayish Subgroup. Chapter 3 deals with the phonology of Pahari language. It has 30 consonants and six vowels. The basic syllable pattern of Pahari is (C) (C) (G) V (C). Chapter 4 discusses the major morphophonological processes. Chapter 5 deals with the writing system of Pahari adapted from the Devanagari script, written in rightward horizontal axis with modifications that are suited to the language. Chapter 6 deals with the nominal morphology in Pahari, and discusses number, gender and case. There are singular and plural number inflections. Plural is marked with <-t̃> for general; <-si> for the specific plural counts. <-ja> is used in non-identified kinship terms. Pahari has no grammatical gender. This chapter also discusses the case markers in which morphological and functional morphemes are mentioned. Pro-drop agent is the special case that differentiates this language from the other varieties of Newar. Chapter 7 discusses adjectives in Pahari. The numerals in Pahari are of simple and compound types. One to 10 are simple cardinals. In compound numerals two numerals are added and a productive numeral is obtained. Chapter 8 discusses the verb and verb phrase in Pahari under the headings of verb stems, verb inflection systems, tense aspect forms, modality, auxiliary verbs and derivationals. The Pahari verbs are classified into four major classes in terms of their alternations that take epenthesis prior to suffixation. Pahari verbs inflect for tense, aspect, number and person, which differ from Kathmandu Newar (KN). Chapter 9 deals with adverbs. Addition of suffix <-eya> to the adjective stem is the commonest

derivation found. Addition of <-ka> suffix prevalent in KN for adjectival derivation is rare in Pahari usage. In chapter 10 the classifiers of Pahari are discussed, which is similar to Kathmandu Newar. A quantifier numeral is followed by a classifier. Pahari has both nominal and verbal classifiers. In chapter 11 Pahari particles are categorized into emphatics, post positions and particles. Chapter 12 examines the syntax of Pahari, which shows eight types of basic sentences. They can be applicable to the whole range of Pahari clauses. The basic constituent order in Pahari is SOV. The constituent order in the clause may be better characterized as relatively free. Pahari presents major sentences like copular, existential, questions, imperative, and optative. Similar to most of the South Asian languages, Pahari typically employs non-finite subordinate clauses instead of finite subordinate clauses to realize clause linkage. There are two types of converbs in Pahari: sequential and simultaneous.

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LIST OF MAP

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ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3 PERSON

A EPENTHESIS

ABL ABLATIVE

ALL ALLATIVE

AD ANTIDATIVE

C CONSONANT ENDING

CJ CONJUNCT

CF CLASSIFIER

CL CLASS

CNS CONCESSIVE

CND CONDITIONAL

COMP COMPARATIVE

COP COPULA

DET DETERMINER

DIST DISTAL

DTC DEICTICS

DUP DUPLICATION

ERG ERGATIVE

EVT EVENTIVE

EX EXCLUSIVE

GL	GLOSS
GR	GROUP
HB	HIGH BACK VOWEL ENDING
HF	HIGH FRONT VOWEL ENDING
HRT	HORTATIVE
IMP	IMPERATIVE
INC	INCLUSIVE
INF	INFINITIVE
INS	INSTRUMENTAL
IMPFV	IMPERFECTIVE
K	CAUSATIVE
KN	KATHMANDU NEWAR
MX	MIXED ENDING
N	NOUN
NAT	NATIVIZER
NML	NOMINALIZER
NPST	NON PAST
NS	NON SELF
ONM	ONOMATOPEIA
OPT	OPTATIVE
PART	PARTICLE

PFV	PERFECTIVE
PL	PLURAL
PPOS	POSTPOSITION
PRB	PROHIBITIVE
PTP	PARTICIPIAL
PST	PAST
PURP	PURPOSIVE
QT	QUOTATIVE
R	ROOT
RDP	REDUPLICATION
REL	RELATIVIZER
RFLX	REFLEXIVE
RPST	REMOTE PAST
S	SELF
SF	STEM FINAL
SG	SINGULAR
SH	STATIVE/ HABITUAL
V	VERB
VD	VOICED
VL	VOICELESS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study is an attempt to provide a linguistic description of the Pahari language, also known as Kodku Pahari. Nepal, the land of diversified topography, contains diverse ethnic groups. According to the Census report 2002 there are more than 92 languages identified, whereas others are yet to be identified. Among the identified 18 languages are safe, 15 languages are almost safe, eight languages are potentially endangered, 22 languages are endangered, 12 languages are seriously endangered, seven are moribund, and 11 are extinct / nearly extinct languages (Yadava and Turin 2007:6-46). Pahari belongs to an endangered group. It has an 11,505 population of which only 2,995 are active speakers (CBS: 2001). That is, 74% of the population do not speak the language and are also shifting to the other dominant languages such as Nepali. Further, the transmission of their native language to the younger generation is not taking place, nor is there any provision for education in their mother tongue. That is why it is in a seriously endangered situation.

Pahari as one of the major varieties of Nepalbhasha, the language of the Newars colloquially known as Newar language or Newari, and officially Nepalbhasha(NB) (CBS, 2002S:73). NB falls under Central Himalayan subgroup of Sino Tibetan language family (Toba, Toba and Rai 2005:58). Newar can be grouped into five major dialects, three of which are named by three respective districts of Kathmandu valley, Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. The others are Dolakha dialect with Listi and Tauthali as its sub-dialects and Pahari with its sub-dialects including Gamal (Balami), Boson, Itadi (Ikudol), Kodku, Sikharpa, Pari, Lele, Khopasi and Thosne. NFDIN (2001:54) has enrolled Pahari speakers under number 23 as a separate indigenous ethnic community.

Geographically, Kathmandu and Lalitpur are adjacent to each other, whereas Bhaktapur is a bit far from both the cities (about 12 kilometers). The density of Newar settlements varies from place to place; the most concentrated ones exist in and around the valley.

So far as the phonemic, morphophonemic and morphological affinity is concerned, Bhaktapur had exerted its influence on the inner and outer valley dialects.

According to Grierson (1909: 227) 'Pahari is the language spoken in the hills of central Nepal. The name of the language literally means 'hill language'. It is also known as 'Pahi' or 'Padhi'.

Pahari is very closely related to Newar, so closely that it can properly be described as a sub - dialect of that form of speech.

The census report (2002) records a total of 11505 speakers of Pahari in the country, of which 5,803 are males, and 5,702 females. The report has also indicated a total of 2,995 active speakers, and among them 1,554 are males, 1,441 are females.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Till date, except for scanty attempts (See review of the literature), no systematic attempt has been made to describe this language fully. The main problem of this research is to present a fuller description of the linguistic and socio-linguistic features of the Pahari language. This study will focus on the following questions related to the study:

- a) What are the socio-linguistic features of the language?
- b) What are the phonological and morphophonological features of the language?
- c) What are the morphological properties of the language?
- d) What are the syntactic features of the language?
- e) What is the writing system of the language?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to present a linguistic description of Pahari language. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To examine the socio-linguistic features of the language
- b) To analyze the phonological and morphophonological features of the language

- c) To provide the morphological properties of the language
- d) To examine the syntactic features of the language, and
- e) To provide a proposed writing system of the language.

1.4 Review of the literature

Pahari language has been studied in terms of its phonology, morphology, and syntax. Hodgson (1880:161-170), Grierson; (1909:230), Bandhu (1968:9-10), Mali (1974; 5: 1, 1978), Shakya (1992), Shrestha R (2001:8), and Shrestha and Tamang (2005) are the scholars, who have worked on Pahari.

Hodgson's (1880) study of Pahari is confined to a classification, which he did not claim to be correct. As Hodgson (1880:161-170) himself writes, "The arrangement and nomenclature of these, made some time back, are not quite correct, but they will serve the present end, and can be corrected when we come to particulars. At present it will suffice to say that 9 and 10 of the 'broken tribes' cannot well be classed under that head, the Pakhya and Thaksya being still unbroken."

Grierson's (1909) data lack consistency and authenticity. As he writes, 'They do not appear to be altogether trustworthy examples of the language, and the spellings are not sufficiently consistent or adequate for giving a precise idea of the phonetic system of the dialect. They are however, the only remarks available on Pahari grammar.' He concludes his observation with these remarks: it is sufficient to show that Pahari can safely be considered as a sub-dialect of Newari (Grierson 1909:230). Grierson (1909:227) quotes Hodgson's (1880:161-170) article as an authority.

Bandhu's (1968) survey is focused on the Pahari language of Thokarpa in the Sindhupalchok district. The survey consisted of contrastive material for the present study.

Mali (1978) had made a general survey of the dialect, in which he has presented the distribution of the Paharis in the peripheral districts of Kathmandu valley namely Kabhre, Sindhupalchok, Dolakha, Ramechhap, and Makawanpur. He had also presented brief

discussions on the morphology of the dialect. However, his source area of linguistic data is not clear, and hence the validity of the data is questionable.

Shakya (1992:14) has claimed that "the phonemes given in parenthesis [(T), (Th), (D), (?)] exist only in dialects other than Kathmandu / Patan". In practice, there are no minimal pairs in Kathmandu / Patan as he has claimed. Theoretically alveolar is default of the phoneme that may be heard in Kathmadu / Patan dialect. Therefore, the phonology of the language is not adequately described.

Shrestha (2001,2003) has made detailed studies on the phonology and morphology of Pahari. In a phonological table she has categorized / h / under nasal. This might be a print error. But she has not corrected this anywhere. It should be a glottal fricative. However, she has presented / h / as a fricative in a minimal pair. That is an appropriate categorization.

Shrestha and Tamang (2005) have covered phonology, morphology and briefly its syntax. No descriptive analysis is provided.

Among the works cited above, the descriptive analysis by Shakya (1992), Shrestha (2001) and Shrestha and Tamang (2005) can be selected as the most relevant for the development of Pahari grammar which the present thesis seeks to document. These works will thus be studied intensively, while the remaining publications will be used for brief references. This selective use of reference works is in fact the main purpose of this review of literature. No research work is complete without an in-depth knowledge of what has been done in the field and what remains to be accomplished.

The writers Hodgson (1880), Grierson(1909), Bandhu (1967), Mali (1974,1978), Shakya (1992), Shrestha (2001), Shrestha and Tamang (2005) have produced only sketchy studies. Moreover, the language deserves a more comprehensive description. The present study covers phonology, morphology, and syntax including socio-anthropological aspect of the Pahari speakers.

1.5 Significance of the study

The change in the living language is a natural process, which is considerable in this language. At the same time the influence of the powerful neighboring language Nepali is also high.

Because of the dialectal difference between Kathmandu Newars (KN) and Pahari language, the two-way communication is not carried on in these languages.

The large number of speakers (73.96%) is switching to Nepali which is endangering the language. Only a small chunk (26.03%) of speakers are attached to the language.

The language activists, since the KN excluded them from the Newar community, registered Pahari language as a different language in the NEFIN list rather than a dialect of Newar language which has caused a gap in the history of Newar language. Unless the socio-anthropological study of the language speakers is carried out, the proper relation between the language varieties (KN and Pahari) cannot be established

The study would help to reveal the socio-anthropological relation between KN and Pahari speakers.

Kathmandu valley, the native area of the Newars, covers a rather small area of territory having diversified linguistic communities within and outside a language (inter or intra language) like Newar. They are interrelated in terms of historical and descriptive perspective. Except Pahari and Citlang Newar (CITN), the other three dialects have been studied in detail. The case of Citlang is yet to be decided, whether it is a major dialect of NB. Until an in-depth study of Pahari is carried out, a complete picture of NB linguistics cannot be drawn.

1.6 Research methodology

We deal with the research methodology of this study under four headings, namely: (a) area of field study, (b) data, (c) theoretical framework, and (d) analysis of the data.

(a) Area of field study

The Paharis are scattered over 110 VDCs of 40 districts across the eight zones of five regional developments in the country (see appendix 4 for detail). This study is mainly based on the language spoken at Kodku hamlet, Badikhel VDC, Lalitpur district (see: the location map of field study, map 1.1). The language spoken in other villages like Shikharpa, Lele, Tungun, Manikhel, Champi, Lukundol, Iti, Boson (Kathmandu), Khopasi (Kabhre) areas are not included in this study. Some of the words were taken as a reference from Shikharpa.



Map 1.1 Location map, Kodku hamlet, Badikhel VDC, Lalitpur.

(b) Data

This is a field based study with the main goal to try to provide a fuller linguistic description of Pahari language. It requires data on grammatical system as well as ethnological and sociolinguistic context of the language. In order to collect sociolinguistic data a sociolinguistic questionnaire (SQ) (See ; appendix viii) was administered to groups of Pahari speakers. Apart from this, cultural and traditional rites were observed during the field study.

The data for the description of the grammatical system of the study using translation elicitation method of basic clauses and vocabularies were used in the early stage of data collection. Some oral texts of traditional rites and occupational activities were collected. The data collected in early stage were cross-checked by Mohan Bahadur Pahari (45) and Sangita Pahari (41). These two persons were taken as model consultants.

The main part of the description of the language is based on data elicited and cross checked with the family of Mohan and Sangita. The elicited data collected in the early stage were not sufficient for the description of the language, so more data for different aspects of language were collected, transcribed and analyzed. For accuracy of the transcription and analysis the data were cross-checked with other native speakers of Kodku hamlet. The cross checked data were analyzed through the help of computer software (Toolbox), which provides the morphological analysis of the sentences, list of basic vocabulary with parts of speech and the meaning of each word in the text.

(c) Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for the present study of the Pahari language is based on the descriptive grammar which provides a detailed documentation of the structure and functions of this dialect variety of Newar. However, insights from Functional –Typological Grammar (FTG) have been used in the analysis. This grammar is therefore an attempt to provide an exhaustive description of the language of the language in its own terms without any comparative references. However, such a description can provide a basis for functional - typological studies of Newar dialects as well as cognate languages such as Thangmi, Baram and Chepang which can be investigated on functional-typological model.

(d) Analysis of the data

We have followed the guidelines for grammar writing (Noonan, 2006) in order to make this study 'user friendly', 'descriptively adequate' and 'comprehensive'. Specifically, we have presented the matters in the following ways:

- a) The new-theory- specific terms used in this study have been defined.
- b) At the end of the grammar we have compared the structural features of Pahari with the common Tibeto-Burman structural features. We have also made an attempt to highlight such features in the language which are striking typologically.
- c) The text has been divided into numbered and titled sections and subsections and we have tried to provide cross referencing within the text.
- d) For the presentation of information about basic grammatical structure we have provided plenty of examples comprising both made-up (elicited) sentences and sentences naturally occurring in discourse. Each example is transcribed by using broad phonemic in sentence examples. Each word is segmented into morphemes. Each morpheme is provided interlinear morpheme glosses by using conveniently accessible list of abbreviations and symbols. Each example of text is provided free translation in English.
- e) We provide a full description of the segmental and supra-segmental contrasts and an explanation of the basis for arriving at them. We provide a description of distributional pattern of the syllable structure in the language.
- f) We provide full paradigms of the nominal and verbal morphology in Pahari. We have described morphology in general with a form-to-function orientation and syntax with a function-to-form as per the FTG orientation.
- g) We have described morphology in general with a form-to-function orientation and syntax with a function-to-form as per the FTG orientation.
- h) Basic vocabulary consisting of all the lexemes used in the grammar and accompanying texts has been provided. The basic vocabulary follows the format of a trilingual glossary. Thus the basic vocabulary in Pahari consists of following parts:
 - The Pahari headword in Devanagari script
 - The Pahari headword in IPA symbols

- The part-of-speech designation
- The Nepali gloss
- The English gloss

1.7 Limitations of the study

The field area of study is limited to the Kodku hamlet, Badikhel VDC, Lalitpur district. The Pahari Newar speakers are concentrated in the Kodku hamlet of Badikhel VDC in Lalitpur district. The field study for this research is thus confined to this area and focuses on the phonology, morphology, and syntax in the language. The chapter on phonology provides a detailed analysis of the physical features of the sounds that occur in the language. This analysis is the basis for determining the phonemic system of Pahari. I have also included an overview of the sociolinguistic aspect of the language to throw light on the use of the language in social, educational context.

The study however does not include description of the multi-proportional discourse of the language.

1.8 Organization of the study

The study has been organized as follows: Chapter 1 presents the review of literature apart from the objectives and research methodology of the study. Chapter 2 deals with the people, and their language, whereas chapter 3 offers a phonemic summary of the language including the distinctive features of sound units, syllable structure and prosodic features in the language. Chapter 4 discusses the morphophonology in the language. In chapter 5 we deal with the writing system in the language. Chapter 6 examines the nominal morphology. Chapter 7 deals with adjectives. Chapter 8 deals with verbs morphology. In chapter 9 we examine adverbs in the language. Chapter 10 deals with classifiers. Chapter 11 examines particles and postpositions. In Chapter 12 we deal with syntax in the language. Chapter 13 presents the summary and findings of the study. The appendices comprise basic sentences,

Pahari rites, glossary of 337 words with Nepali and English meanings, Pahari census; verb paradigms and Swadesh 100 wordlist of Pahari language, and Hodgson's List 1880.

CHAPTER 2

THE PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the Pahari people and language. The section 2.1 deals with the glotonym of the Kodpa. In section 2.2 we discuss ethnology, occupation, tradition and culture of Kodpa people. Section 2.3 deals with the genetic affiliation of the Kodpa. Section 2.4 deals with the distribution of the Paharis. Section 2.5 deals with history of language speakers. In section 2.6 we examine the dialects of the Pahari language. Section 2.7 deals with socio-linguistic position of the language. In Section 2.8 we discuss endangerment of the Pahari language and section 2.9 summarizes the finding of this chapter.

2.1 Glotonym

The scholars since the early age of research have been using the name Pahari / Badikhel Pahari (Grierson (1909)), Shafer (1955), Voeglin & Voeglin (1973), Shakya (1992), Shrestha (2002). The native speakers prefer to introduce themselves as a *Kukudeyakari* 'the inhabitants of Kodku'. Besides this, the Newars of neighboring villagers addressed them *Kodku pahi:*. The main area of Paharis' habitation is along the rivulet of Kodku, the only rivulet near the Godavari, which flows from the south to the North in Nepal. Considering the innate feeling of the native speakers, the established name and revering the native aspiration the language is nomenclature *loco - ethnonym* as Kodku Pahari or Kodku Pahari language (Kodpa). *pihibhya* or *pi:bhya* or *pi:bhæ* is autoglotonym (name given to the language by the speakers). It can be analyzed into two words that mean *pihi / pi:* 'Pahari' and *bhya/bhæ* 'language' that is language of the Paharis. Pahari is the exonym (name given to the language by the outsiders).

2.2 Ethnology

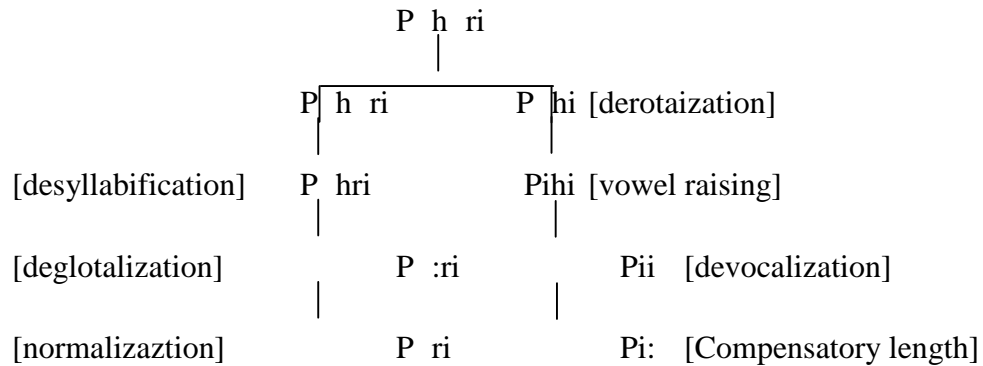
The purpose of this section is to describe the socio-cultural position of the speakers of Paharis at the Kodku hamlet.

2.2.1 Origin of the Pahari

Since the Pahari language (Kodpa) is an unwritten language, there is no written document or oral texts about the origin of the Paharis. A researcher in this situation should rely on the folklore existing in that very area as well as other areas. Here are a few citations about the origin of the Paharis. One of the stories goes: A man was serving as an attendant in the kitchen of the royal palace. One day he was cooking the dishes of meat. It smelled so good that he could not control himself and he tasted the dishes. Now he realized somebody was coming near. So he hurriedly rubbed his hand in his own cloth. The person was none other than the king. The king saw the attendant in a dirty robe and exiled him addressing him a *foh ri* (dirty person). The man settled in the hill area of the country. In the course of time, they were in large numbers and they began to address them as *Pahari /Pahari/* (hill-men). This is the only narrative which extant in the community. For a researcher s/he should keenly examine the facts whether the available data is correct. In the case of Pahari language, no previous work is available to predict the origin of the speakers. That is why there is a famous idiom of *a drowning man will catch at a straw* the researcher is compelled to rely on

the words like *pi:* < *pihi:* < *p hi:* ¹ < *P h ri* < *p ri*, that are more or less related to their socio-economic life. The phonetic geneology of Pahari is as shown in fig 1.

Figure 2.1: Geneology of Pahari



Where have they come from?

The answer to this question is nevertheless a mystery. After a long discussion over the issue, the Paharis are anxious to know about their origin. Some suspect that probably Gorkha² was their original homeland. Recently *Nepal Pahari Bikas Sangh* 2056 (1999) produced a compact disc of their traditional culture entitled *p chima geet* (N) 'western songs' that sheets some lists; however, it remains to be confirmed. Considering the traditional occupation of the Paharis, i.e. bamboo work, one may assume *Pura* the word for bamboo, *P ri* for stomach and *pi:* for Paharis, might have a special relation among these words. Superficially, the livelihood of the Paharis simply depends on the bamboo works.

As late Badal Singh Pahari, my informant's grandfather, narrated a story to his grandson in his childhood about their origin: A Newar had two wives: one was a Tamang and other was a Newar. Pahari was one of the kids from the Tamang mother and Newar father. A kid from Tamang and mother headed towards the Jungle side. Their livelihood depended on bamboo

¹ It is the Newar term for the Paharis. The chronological arrangement of the terms may be in this order: *Pi* (compensatory lengthening) < *P^hi* (vowel raising) < *¹p^hi:* (derotaization) < *P^ri* (normalization) < *P^:ri* (deglotalization) < *P^h^ri*.

² Gorkha is a western district of Nepal, where the great king of Nepal, Prithvi Narayan Shah ruled prior to the conquest of the Kathmandu valley.

work and fire woods. They avoided the tradition of Newars especially *barha*, a puberty age ritual done by Newars, especially with a girl child. In due course of time Pahari diverted from Newar culture and ethnicity. About the Nagarkoti, Newar society has a prevailing conception that a child from Maharjan father and Tamang mother is a Nagarkoti. This prevailing conception, G.S. Nepali (1965)'s survey and Badal Singh's narrations are merged in a single point that Pahari is the child of a Newar father and Tamang mother.

Danuwar (2005:19-20) categorizes four groups about the origin of the Danuvars : "Tirhutiyan King Harisingh Dev was allowed to marry Deval Devi, Rudra Malla's sister during the invasion of the valley led by Prime Minister Candeshwor Thakur. On the way back to Simaraungarh a few battalions were left behind to watch over Kathmandu valley. The battalion at present is called the *Pahari*. Second, the battalion which escaped to the valley during the invasion over Simaraungarh by Gayasuddhin Tulglak was called the Danuwars. Third, the entourage of Harisingh Dev to the valley for the third time were known as *K cchade Rai*. Fourth, the Tagadhari Danuwars of Saptari went as the members of the marriage procession of Sthiti Malla, who called themselves *B lami* (Bhaladmi means gentleman) in the valley. At present they prefer to identify themselves as *Kh pt ri B snet Kshetri* the vulgar term for *Kshetris of Saptari*."

2.2.2 Pahari or Nagarkoti

As the Rana regime did not allow them to enter army service with their original title *Pahari*, they altered their title to *N g rkoti*. This occurred from 1960 onwards. Prior to this they used to write Pahari as their title or surname.

The *kukudeyakari* (Endonym) have the title of *Pahari or Nagarkoti* with three major divisions' viz. *RajPahari*, *KholaPahari* and *PakhaPahari*. The first one serves for status (*raj* 'royal'), whereas latter two indicate the locations (*khola* 'rivulet' and *pakha* 'sloppy area'). These three groups are identified by their traditional offerings. *Raj-Paharis* sacrifice female

duck, *Khola-Pahari* sacrifice male duck, and *Pakha-Pahari* sacrifice cock in their *dipuja* 'worshipping of clan deity'. These terms somehow reveal their immediate previous settlements, but there is no clear line to identify the location. These three titleholders have to offer puja at *Kaleshwor*, the temple of lord Shiva, 51KM south of Lalitpur district headquarter (Karmacarya 2010:94), in the past. Besides this, *kukudeyakari* are identified with their residential and profession orientation in their own language, Pahari language. The intra - Pahari marriage is prohibited, because they are supposed to have originated from the same ancestors. There are a few terms that reveal their original place, like *tola - ya - kari* 'the man from the hill', *heba - kari* 'the man from next side', *du: - ya - kari* 'the man from lowland.

2.2.3 The relation between Newar and Pahari

The conservative Newars of the core city of Kathmandu use four exonym terms³ for the peripherals and valley outsiders: a) *gamah* b) *Pakhyah* c) *Gā: Newa:*, and d) *G Newa:*.⁴ In general *gama:* is frequently used. These words carry the meaning of a) 'the clown / uncivilized / awkward', b) 'the steep resides (borrowed from Nepali)' c) 'Newars of remote areas' d) 'Newars of hilly area'. These terms applied to different communities: a) except the core denizens of Kathmandu, b) denizens of hill or rim / fringe area, c) valley outsiders, and d) people of remote districts. This practice of showing inferior and uncivilized status to the speaker was practised for the centuries based on feudalistic system. This attitude of core denizens touched/chilled the hearts of the peripherals and outsiders. Even the core denizens of Bhaktapur, few years back, did not use Newar as a medium of exchange between Kathmanduites since they were/are terrified of the term *gama:*. These malpractices day by day weaken the cultural and lingual bond between the speakers of Newars. Consequently, the census record shows the declining number in comparison to other language speakers despite the recognized strata⁵(Shrestha 2009:335-340).

³ These words are derogatory terms.

⁴ 'the clown / uncivilized' to the peripherals, *pakhyaah* 'the steep resides' to the valley rim resides, *gaam Newaah* 'Newar of remote hamlets' to the Newars of outside the valley and *gum newaah* 'Newars of jungle area' to the remote areas of the country.

⁵ Newar is the state language during the Malla reign. The language is depicted as *desbhasha*, *Nepalbhasha*, for detail see the copper inscription of Srinivas Malla, dated NS 501 /AD1381, at Patan Durbar, Mulchowk.

Newars addressed the Paharis as *pahi*: (> pai: - devocalization) recognized as the upper class Maharjan (Nepali 1965:150). Paharis from time immemorial have been supplying bamboo articles to the Newars including cultural and kitchen wares like winnowing disc, baskets. And yet the Paharis are not recognized in Newar community although some writers mention them as the same. Paharis are a homogeneous group of Newars whereas other Newars are heterogenous. Paharis have been searching for their identity for many years. They formed an organization entitled *Nepal Pahari Bikas Sangh* in 2056BS (1999). As a result Paharis are recognized as a separate identity by the State. In the recent census their population (11,505) is mentioned as a separate ethnic group (CBS, 2001)

2.2.4 Occupation

From the very early days the Paharis have been making the bamboo-articles. They were also working as carpenters and masons. They are working in army and police service in large numbers. During the Rana regime they were not allowed in the army service with their original title *Pahari*, so they altered their title to *N g rkoti*. Within the Pahari community they are divided into two groups; one works as wood cutters called *G mal* or *B lami*, whereas other the works as bamboo craftsmen called *Pahari*.

2.3 Social and family structure

Since Pahari is a matriarchal community, most of household and cultural decisions are made by the oldest lady of the house.

The Paharis, like other ethnicities, live in joint family. Nevertheless, nuclear families are developing. They live up to four generations⁶ in a single house. Most of the young people are inclined to a nucleus/single family. Kinship is a good example of the languages, differ in the

⁶ Grandpa, papa, son, grand child

⁵ tsee 'small', dha 'elder', dhō 'great'

way they handle an area of human experience (Crystal; 2000:62).The Paharis of Kodku have maintained their kinship terms in their own language, like:

ma	mother
ba	father
m n	brother / sister
b dze	grandma
badze	grandpa
nini	aunt
tse ⁷ - ba	uncle
d ^h a - ba	uncle
tse - ma	aunt
dha - ma	aunt
dhõ - maba	great grandparents
puro ⁸	son
c ^h iga	grand child
c ^h ui	great grand child
hui	great - great grand child

2.3.1 Social identity

The scheme of caste hierarchy presented by Nepali (1965:150) is generally accepted in the Kathmandu valley. *Pahari or Pihi or Pahee* is the one of the sub - divisions of the *Jyapoo* Division, the other four divisions are: i) Suwal, ii) Kumhal, iii) Dungol, iv) Gua or Gual (1965:167). Hodgson (1923:23 J.A.S.B, vol. IXX)

⁷ Puro <putro (skt)

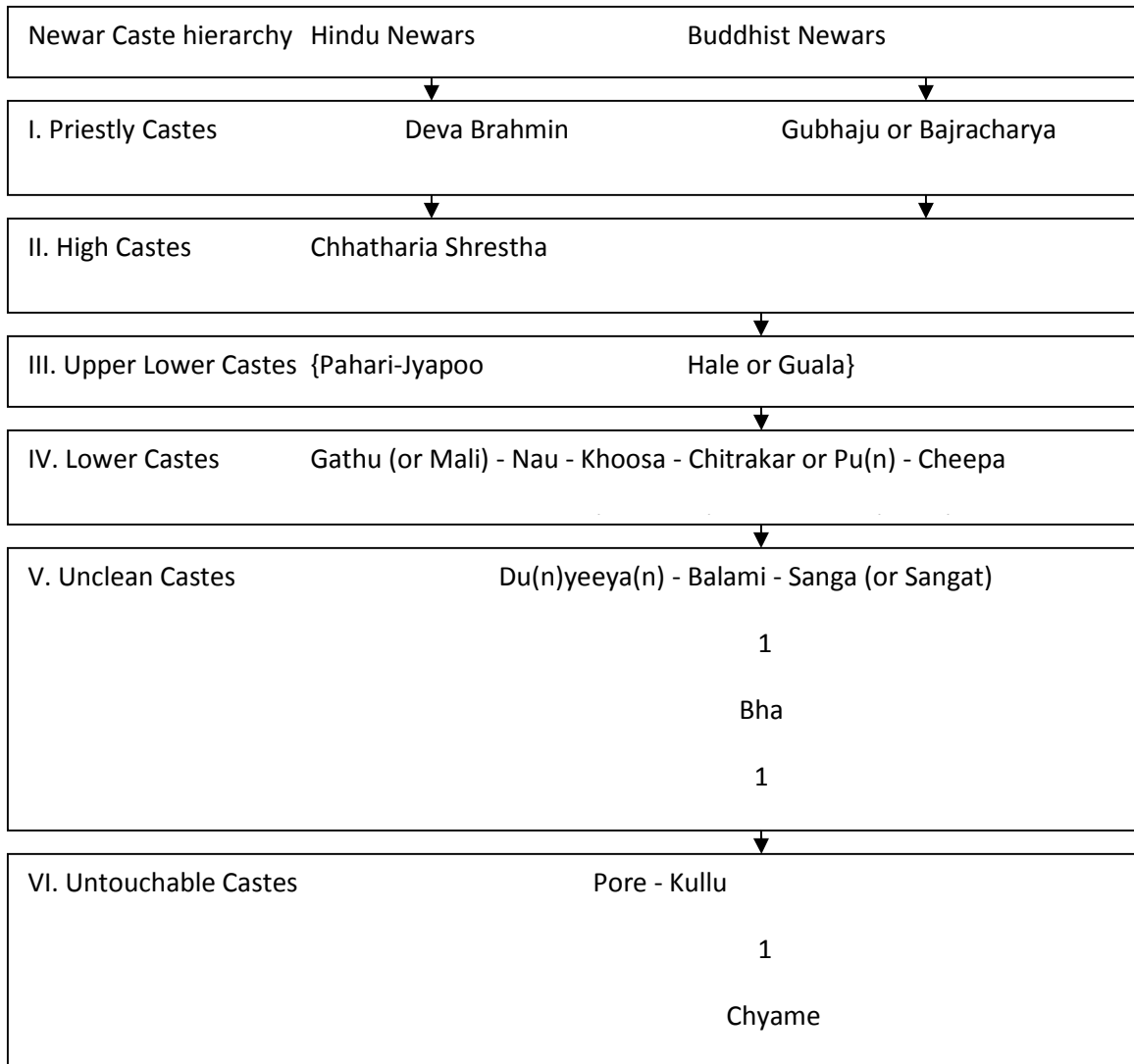


Table 2.1, *Cast Hierarchy* (Adapted from Nepali, 1965:150)

At present they have demanded for their political existence as an individual entity and formed an organization called *Pahari Bikas Sangh* (Pahari Development Committee). They have claimed themselves as a separate ethnic community from the Newars. The Nepal government (then HMG) has enrolled them as an individual ethnic community. So in this study the Language (Pahari dialect) is a nomenclature as Kodku Pahari Language (Kodpa)⁹

⁹ A well known thinker said a dialect with the army is language, a language without army is dialect.

2.3.2 Pahari tradition and customs

The *kukudeyakari* (henceforth Kodpa), worship Hindu, Buddhist and traditional deities. They perform their *dipuja*, 'the worshipping of clan deity' at attested field or ground at *delmha khi* : 'the field of goddess' (del 'god', mha 'plain', khi: 'field'), ward no2 on the day of *maghpuni*, the full moon day in January or the month of Magh according to *vikramavda*¹⁰ calendar. They offer their puja for three days that commences on the preceding day or the fourteenth day of bright phase of the lunar calendar, called *cholbu* and concludes on the succeeding day of the full moon day or first day of the dark phase of the lunar month called *lisapuja*. This is the most remarkable celebration for them.

a. Camlya

This is the main festival of the Kodku Pahari speakers observed on Caitra Purnima 'full moon of April' for four days. The term *C lya*: is the blending of the two terms *C l* 'the month of chaitra' and *ya*: 'festival'. The festival is observed for four days. These four days are given the special names like *Ch lbu* 'the day of initiation' *siniya*: / *mu:ya*,' the main day specially marked with the vermillion ' *k lya*: 'the day of juniors' and *dyo: dukae* 'welcome the deity'. That means the festival starts on *ch lbu* and ends on *dyo: dukae*. During the festival no *kukudeyakari* is allowed to cook rice. The chariot of the deities *k^hac^himadyo* (the goddess of chest nut), the idol of Ganesh is taken around the village. The *kukudeyakari* invite the guest on *k lya*: or pratipada. Dashain, Tihar are observed in a general way.

b. Kshma puja

¹⁰ Nepal uses two calendars: Nepal samvat (NS), a native lunar calendar in the reverence of national luminary Sankhadhar Sakhwal, next is solar, *vikrambda* calendar abbreviated VS that was supposed to be imported from India named after the king of *vikramaditya* the famous king of *Ujjain*, India, the official calendar of the kingdom of Nepal. NS begins in the month of *kachala* falls in the month of October-November and ends in *Kaula*, fall in October-November. VS begins in *vaishakh* (March-April) and concludes in *caitra* (March-April)

Kshma Puja is performed at the end of the month of Ashadh and month of Mansir. as the title suggests this Puja is offered seeking the pardon from the natural deity/ entity that is earth. Because the farmers dig out the field for which the people beg pardon from mother planet earth. The Puja is celebrated after the plantation.

c. Arwa: puja / sacwa puja

Arwa: Puja means the Puja offered on Sunday and Sacwa Puja means the Puja offered on Saturday. These Pujas are performed at the time of Kshma Puja. These Pujas are especially performed on Saturday and Sunday. *Sikaridyo* and *Ganesha* are worshiped. During these Puja buffalo, chicken, goat, are sacrificed and egg, and *sumebuji* 'sacred snacks' are also offered. This Puja is similar to Aitbare Puja done by Danuwars of Duku village, Lalitpur (Shrestha: 2005). *Sikari* 'Hunter' *dyo* 'deity' the deity of hunters, who protects people from wild animals, is worshipped by the people of the jungle or jungle dwellers. Ganesha is a deity of patriarchal society (Sri Sri Anandmurti; 1996) Pahari, the denizens of in-between the jungle and settlements (Toffin 2007:15), worship both the deities. This sort of cultural practice shows that Pahari community is trying to shift from the matriarchal society to a patriarchal society.

d. Ghurmura

It is observed on the 14th of dark phase of Bhadra 'the fifth month of Vikramabdh calendar' by the Newars. The Newar festival starts with this festival, so is for the Paharis, hence it is addressed as *nhuli nokho*¹¹: 'emerging festival'. In this festive people clean their houses and throw the torch made up of hay in *d ba*: (cross road) the process is called *bhu: li* (driving away the ghost). The festival is a post plantation sanitation phenomenon.

The people are obliged to the ecological chain. People offer food stuff to the frog that helps in consuming the insects like mosquito, scorpion during the plantation.

¹¹ The cycle of festivals starts with ghurmura, so it is called *nhuli nokho* means 'new festival', emerging festival and ends with *sinikho*, so it is called *jenokho* 'old festival' means festival of concluding. This is considered exactly in the Newar community.

e. Birth

Birth, marriage and death are the three vital rites. Birth is the prime rite of humans. In the Pahari society they recognise the new bride has conceived as her monthly ceases. The gravida is send to health institution for maternity health care. The primi-gravida¹² is fed *dahibuji nigau* 'heavy dinner food' from her parents' side after the seventh month of conception'. It consists of a bulk of edible items viz *buji* 'rice flake', *dahi* (N) 'curd', *ghasa* 'meat'. During *dahibuji nigau*, the couple must be present. The other family members should be fed. The daughter should not stay at the parents' home till the delivery of the baby.

The process of purification of a new baby as well as the mother is called *be iu* held after three day if the baby is male otherwise it is on the fifth day of delivery. The Puja is offered to the clan deity when a hen is sacrificed. Tika is offered to neo-natal baby and the mother. The waste product of the delivery should be disposed off in chyasal' pit for disposing delivery waste product and funeral disposal, *the census officer*¹³. If the baby is a girl child, she will be fed in the beginning of the fifth month whereas it is held in the beginning of the sixth month. The baby girl has to choose from the plate of wooden hammer¹⁴, red clay and cow-dung. The boy has to choose plough and soil. Thus, the division of labour starts from the very beginning of one's consciousness is realized. The purification then comes to end.

f. Marriage

As the person reaches the age of 16/17, parents begin to search for a bride or a groom. The people in this community have a practice of *jilajam byaheu* 'taking the groom into the bride's

¹²a woman conceives for the first time

¹³Kedarman vyathit, a well known poet of Newar, Nepali and Hindi, wrote in his book entitled *chwasā* (NB) expresses it a census officer, for which book he was awarded Shrestha Sirapa:'Award' by Cosapasa, the pioneer institution of Newar literary works, in 2013/1073/1953. See vyathit, Kedarman 1073 *Chwasā*:. Kantipur : Nepalbhasha Parishad.

¹⁴a wooden hammer used for washing cloth.

home'. It reveals the society is matriarchal. The existing marriage systems in this society are arranged by the family and recently on mutual love. Nevertheless, in this society people have the practice of marrying more than a single wife. There is a bar for marrying intra totem.

g. Death

This is the last rite of the human body/ society. *Kukudeyakari* performs the rite in their own way. Immediately after the confirmation of the death of an individual, the *guthiyars* 'the members of a *guthi* 'traditional Newar organization'', make an oven with three *koziu apa* 'unbaked bricks'. They cook the *pukhaza* 'the rice prepared under the eaves' in a *kisi* 'an earthen traditional utensil used to cook rice'. They prepare the *kh* : 'corpse carrier' with bamboo frame work which is convenient to carry the corpse by two to four persons. The *kh* : is longitudinal rectangular frame work in which five divisions are made vertically with the support of two bamboo poles of 5 - 6.5 feet long. Then necessary materials will be collected in which *ya* 'paddy', *zai* 'rice', *la:za* 'maize', *cho* 'wheat', *til* 'sesame', *to*¹⁵ - *cho* 'barley', *dheba* 'coins' are mixed for *boi* ' alms offer to unknown spirit that consist of paddy, rice, maize, wheat, barley coins; sprayed along the route of the funeral procession'. The *katro* 'the cloth used for covering the corpse' covers the deceased and a piece of iron weapon, and a *jaipo* : 'package of one *mana* (traditional Nepali measuring unit that is equivalent to 500gram) of rice' placed over the corpse. The *ili* 'the ash' produced during the *pukhaja* cooking is collected in a *bij* 'an earthen utensil used for frying the grain'. The *bij* with *ili*, and *kisi* in one pan, *koziu apa* 'unbaked brick' in next pan makes a balanced pan. The fire makes in a *bij* . Then the *guthi* is ready for the funeral procession. They move in a single file procession. The individuals carry *suja* 'hay', *mibij* 'fire', *Pujabhu* 'offering dish', *pukhaja* 'feeding under eave' one by one respectively. As the funeral procession exits, the relatives clean and smear up the house with cow dung. During the mourning days that remain for seven to nine days, people do not smear up their floor with red clay (*sirha ca*). One of the task units of the *guthi* already prepares the pyre. As the funeral procession ends at the cremation ground, the corpse is placed over the pyre and son/s feed deceased one the *pukhaja*. The corpse is burnt for its proper cremation. The son/s sweeps the *ili* ' residue as the ash' in the river. Then they (son/s and the members of the funeral possession) feed *dile nigau* 'Tiffin offering' in the memory of

¹⁵ - stands for syllable break

the deceased one. Thus ends the first stage of the cremation process. In the house the oil wick should be lit until *ghosu:*' the purification'. From the second day son/s offer/s *pukhaja* at the corner of plinth, that is called *fasijako pukhaja*. On the last day of mourning, *ghosu:n u* 'barber' shaves the heads of the male members of the bereaved family. The *n u* bury two eggs and sacrifice a cock in the *chyasal* 'the site for dumping the cloth of deceased Pahari'. Then the relatives sprinkle the cow milk to the members of the bereaved family. The proper dressed cock is brought home and distributed among the relatives after being cooked. Thus concludes the mourning. The son / s is / are offered the white cloth and that is retained for a whole year as a symbol of mourning period. But in these days *kukudeyakari* too follow the process of Brahmins. This is because of their priest *gubhaju* who are not available at their convenient time and expects large expenses. On the contrary Brahmins are convenient and easily accessible for them. That is why; they are replacing their traditional priest and barber to follow the Brahmin tradition.

h. Food behaviors

dalbhat 'Nepali cuisine' is the main food course of the *Kokudeyakari*. During their feast they depend on *buji* 'beaten rice'. Buffalo meat is the main item during the special occasion. They use *t^hō* 'beer' and *ira* 'spirit' brewed at home in the traditional way. Bread, maize, soya, wheat are used as meal as well as snacks and tiffins. Barley is used as a sacred cereal used in a special ritual like *akshya tritiya*.

i. Costumes

The women wear blouse sari, the girls wear kurta salwar, shirt and pant whereas boys wear shirt pant and cap. The old folks wear *jhini* 'belt'. Shawl is an essential item in an authoritative dress up for ladies. Sweater, jacket, coat are winter garments. Socks and shoes are casual wear.

j. Recreations

There is no cinema hall in the area. Most of them are engaged in their field works. They recreate in observing the fair and feast that occurs intermittently as per their calendar. Because of electricity line supplied at the village the *kukudeyakari* entertain themselves with Television and radios for information and news. The Paharis of Sipa, Lele hold the *pacima Geet*, a traditional cultural program.

k. Beliefs

Paharis have many mis/beliefs about their life, tradition, agricultural practices, give and take and so on. Some of the beliefs are recorded here.

- (i) A married daughter should not halt for the night on Monday for one night at her maternal home.
- (ii) Iron or iron - made objects should not be brought / bought on Saturday, because they consider Saturday is the strongest day of the week.
- (iii) A group of three individuals should not go at any auspicious time or place; otherwise it may have a negative result.
- (iv) An empty vessel implies a bad result especially during the time of departure.
- (v) One should not buy clothes on Tuesday.
- (vi) On Tuesday, hair trimming or dressing and nail clipping is prohibited.
- (vii) It is believed that on Sunday and Tuesday no one should cut the bamboo and weed, otherwise it will be consumed by termites.
- (viii) It is believed that the bamboo shrub will be consumed by the termites if it is cut during the bright phase of the lunar month.
- (ix) A woman should not touch cooked foodstuffs for four days during her menses period. And she should not worship the deity for seven days.

(x) In the Paharis' field three things (seed planting, plantation, and harvesting) should not be done on the same day of the week.

(xi) *jyona*¹⁶ is called the food of trouble, whereas *beri*¹⁷ is considered as food of majesty.

I. Ethno-linguistic explanation of the cultural terms

The cultural terms with reference to Kathmandu Newar.

Kathmandu	Kodpa	meaning
<i>Bilabial Glides</i>	<i>Palatal Glides</i>	
wa	ya	paddy
chwasal	chas / chyasal	dumping square / crossroad
Low vowel	High vowel	
k si	ja tuiu kisi /dubli	pot
bhadz	bidz	an earthen pan
n li	ili	ash
pakha	pukha	eave
Vowel sequence		
jaki	jai	rice

Table 2.2: The cultural terms

m. Literacy rate

¹⁶ food served in the morning time

¹⁷ food served in the evening time

The literacy rate of the VDC is 2938 (91.47%), male 1508 (46.95%), female 1430 (44.52%). Among them 987 (30.73%), Male 327(10.18%), Female 660 (20.55%) falls in *Cannot read and write* category. 186 (05.79%), Male 39(01.21%), Female 147(04.58%) falls in *Can read only* category. In addition, 1745 (54.33%), Male 1143 (33.59%), Female 622 (19.36%) falls in *Can read and write* category (CBS 2004). The national literacy rate of Pahari ethnicity is 29.93 %(9,171) (CBS: 2003:132).

2.4 Genetic affiliation of Pahari language

According to the scholars Pahari language belongs to Newari group of Himalayish sub section of Bodic branch under Tibeto-Burman sub family of Sino-Tibetan family (Noonan 2000: fig 1). "Pahari is the language spoken in the hills of central Nepal. The name of the language literally means 'hill language'. It is also known as 'Pahi' or 'Padhi.'" (Grierson 1909: 227). "Pahari belongs to Bodic section under ¹⁸Newarish sub section". (Shafer 1966 - 73 : 3).

Pahari language belongs to Newarish branch of Himalish subsection, of Bodic division of Tibeto- Burman language family. The figure (2.2) is adopted from Noonan (2003: 23). However, the genealogical classification is the matter of controversy. The position of the Newar in this classification is ambiguous.

The position of the language is not yet clear. Different researchers have categorized in their own way. Bradley (2000:75) categorizes Newar into Western Tibetan branch. The classification is as follows:

¹⁸ Till date the position of Newar and its group is a matter of debate. However, the linguists have adopted a special subsection, Newarish. Pahari is included in Newarish subsection. Yadava and Turin (2005:17) however are silent about Pahari.

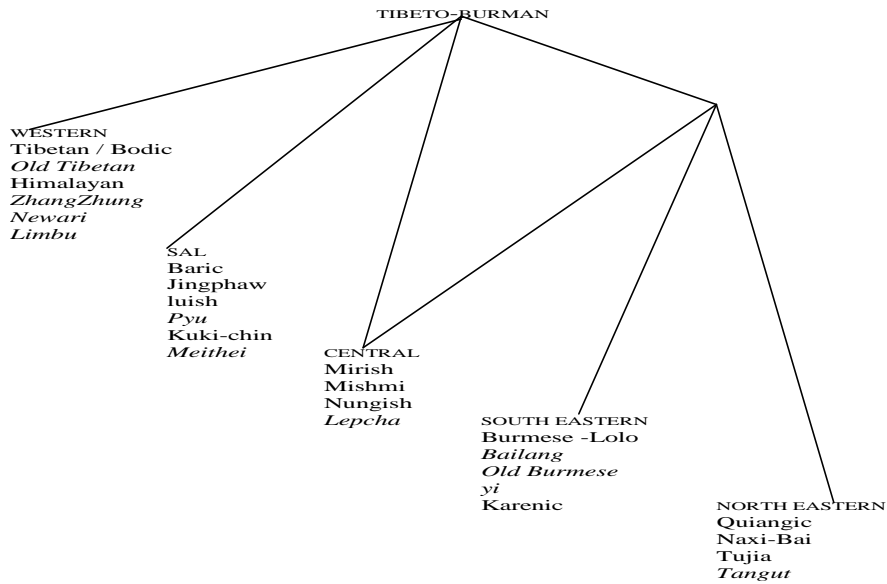


Figure 2.2: Tibetan - Burman languages (Bradley 2000:75)

Noonan (2003:23) categorized Pahari under Newar sub-group of Himalish sub-division. However, the genealogical classification is a matter of controversy. The position of the Newar language in this classification is ambiguous.

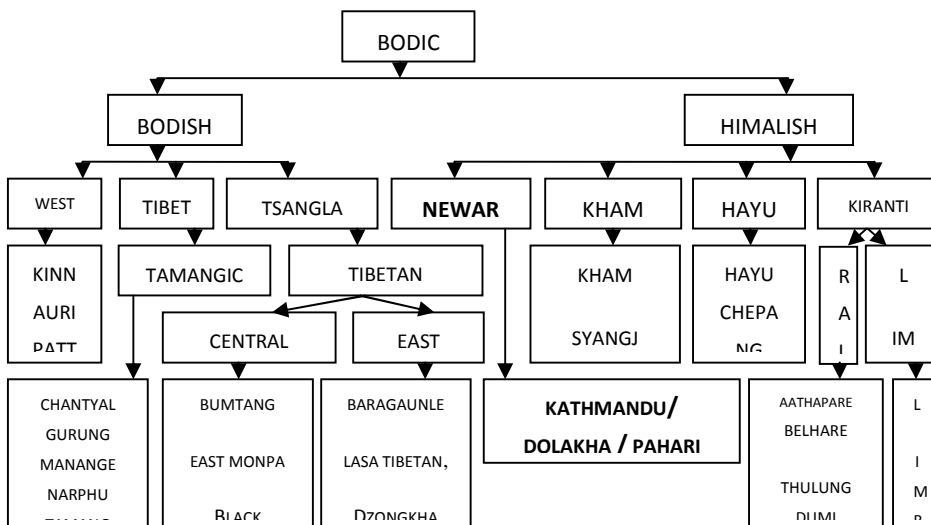


Figure 2.3: Tibeto - Burman languages (Noonan 2003:23)

As Hale (1982:43-44) writes on genealogical affiliation "Newari, a language that resists easy classification, but has been identified by Benedict (1972a: 6) as a distant satellite of Bahing - Vayu group has been the subject of a considerable literature, both philological and linguistic. Its status as a literary language has attracted the philological attentions of various scholars, especially Jorgensen (1931, 1939) and Lienhard (1963, 1974). Conrady has given us a start on a grammar (1891). Jorgensen (1928, 1936b) has contributed further to our knowledge of the Newari lexicons, and Jorgensen (1936a, 1941) make a further contribution to our knowledge of grammar, all based on written sources.

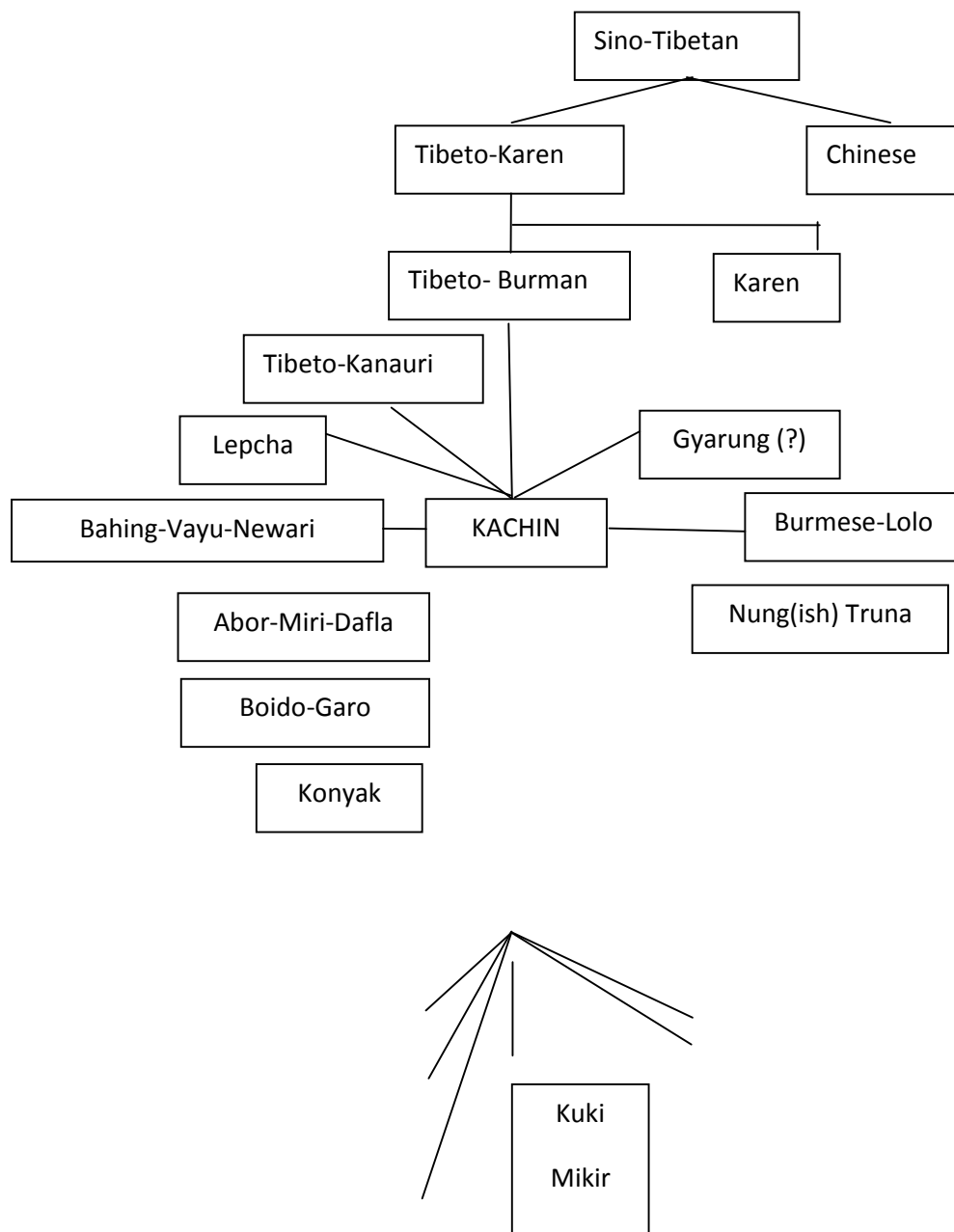
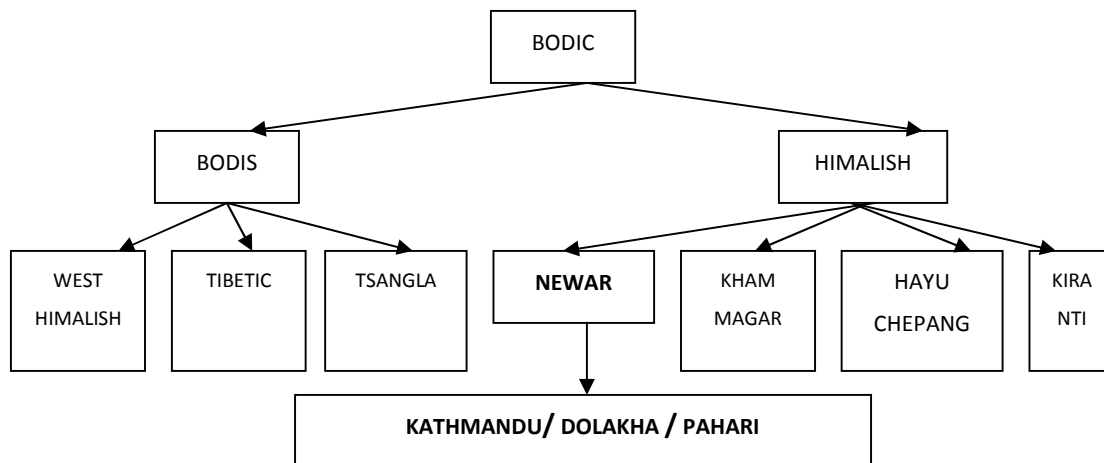


Figure 2.4: Sino-Tibetan Groups (Benedict 1972)

For the spoken language we have phonological analyses by Modi (1967), Hale and Hale (1969), Hale (1970b, 1970c, and revised in 1973cIV: 28-30), Kansakar (1977), and a generative phonology by Kansakar (1979). A language learning course has been published by Sresthacharya, Maskey, and Hale (1971). Noun Morphology has been treated in Hale 1971, but more extensively and with greater attention the diachronic aspects of the system in U. Kölver and B. Kölver (1977, 1978). Verb morphology has been dealt with by Hale (1970d, revised in 1971c, 1973a), and by Sresthacharya (1963, 1976). Hale (1971a) describes an interesting system of person markers which is sensitive to certain performative functions in Newari, and Benedix (1974) presents a fascinating study of Newari verb tenses. For the classical language the best account of verb morphology is Kölver - Kölver 1978. For Newari clause structure and verb sub-categorization, we have U. Kölver 1976, a most illumination, well-argued description which places heavy priority on morphological form and takes the view that Newari is an ergative language. For more semantically oriented description of clause, see Hale - Manandhar 1973. Joshi 1955-56a, b is the most adequate dictionary, though the classified vocabularies of Hashimoto (1977b) and Hale (1973c IV) may be more useful to those who cannot read Nepali. The glossaries of Lienhard (1974) and of Sresthacharya and Tuladhar (1976) should not be overlooked."

The Pahari among the TB languages

Figure 2.5: Position of Pahari in T-B languages



Source: Michael Noonan (2003:23)

According to Bradley (2002:75) Newari falls into the western Bodic division. Noonan (2003:23) kept Kathmandu, Dolakha Newar and Pahari in the Newarish sub-section of Himalish Subgroup.

2.5 Distribution of the speakers

The number of Paharis all over the country of Nepal 11,505 speakers: male 5,803, female 5,702 by caste and ethnicity, and 2,995 in total: male 1,554, female 1,441 by mother tongue (CBS: 2001). The Paharis are scattered over the 110 VDCs of forty districts across the eight zones of five Developmental Regions in the country. Badikhel, in Lalitpur is the only village Development Committee which has a 51.91 % (1555) of total Pahari speakers. It consists of 86.10% of the total Pahari of Kodku hamlet (For detail see Appendix iv).

2.6 Dialects

Paharis are scattered across the country. Some of the places are recognized as their indigenous places, of which the language is a nomenclature. The Paharis until few years back speak Pahari in their social communication irrespective of their locations and surname.

Lalitpur, Sindhuli, Dolakha, Kabhre, Sindhupalchok, Ramechap districts are their native areas. The location has a parallel name with Nepali (Khas), like:

Sipa - Shikharpa,

Pari - Lele,

Tungun - Pulumdu:,

Champi - Chapi,

Lukundol,

Iti,

Boson - Bosum

Khopasi - Khosi kari

The researchers so far have conducted to date researches confined to Badikhel. However, the varieties of Pahari exist only at the word level.

2.7 Socio-linguistic position of the language

2.7.1 Multilingualism

The Pahari people are multilingual. Since the community depends on the commodity they sell, they speak Newar, Tamang and Nepali as well. They speak their own tongue. Their lingua franca is variable. They communicate in Pahari within the community.

2.7.2 Language attitudes

Out of 11505 Paharis all over the country, only 2995, that is 26 percent, speak their mother tongue, in other word 74% Paharis do not speak their mother language which is a highly disturbing matter for a language like Pahari, being a language of lesser number of speakers. The highest numbers of Paharis in Kodku (86.10%) hamlet speak their own language (Pahari). Their attitude towards their language is highly positive. For them Newar and Pahari language (Kodpa) is accessible. They switch to Newar or Nepali whenever they need to. At times they switch to Tamang as well.

2.7.3 Language behavior

Paharis switch mostly either to Nepali or Newar. The government has enrolled them in the list of indigenous people. They are included as number 22 in the list of nationalities and indigenous people (NFDIN).

There is no school in the Pahari medium. There is no radio, television broad / telecast in Pahari. The only booklet published by the government is *Pahari varnamala* (2004).

2.7.4 Context of use and language choice

As they are polyglot (multilingual), they switch to Nepali, Newar, Tamang whenever they need. At home they use Pahari language (Kodpa), at school they use Nepali, English. They use Newar when they are selling their bamboo products in the market area (Patan, Kathmandu). They use Tamang in the jungle area when they are collecting the fodder for their cattle. For praying they use either Nepali or Newar. At present they are inclined to Nepali rather than Pahari language (Kodpa) in their guthi work 'organizational gathering'.

2.7.5 Language maintenance

Paharis are becoming more conscious of their ethnic and linguistic rights. They have published a booklet on the writing system of Pahari *Pibhya* 'Pahari language' in collaboration with the National Federation of Indigenous and Nationalities (NFDIN). Outside the community some studies have been done. Among them Hodgson (1880) Grierson (1909), Shakyas (1992), Shrestha (2001), Shrestha and Tamang (2005) are worth mention.

Though almost all the Pahari speak Pahari language (Kodpa) with each of the family members the teenagers, especially school goers, are inclined to Nepali for their communication even though they speak Pahari with their parents. From 1990 onwards the new couples who have married with non - Paharis communicate in Nepali with their spouses. This is a matter of concern in the hamlet. The Number of such families in the hamlet is 26.

a. The system of naming¹⁹

The domination of the speakers reveals their overall activities. Language reveals the culture of the speaker. The phenomenon implies to Pahari too. The localities of the VDCs are exposed to the native flavor of their native language i.e. the naming of the localities is from Pahari language, e.g.

pur - ke - me	‘bamboo garden’
dar - to	‘the mid area’
d ^h i - sin - ta	‘men of canal side’
ca: - la: - ch	‘round house’
du: - ch	‘the house at low land’
m ^h a - ke - me	‘plain garden’
l -si- ja - ka - ri	‘man from roadside’

¹⁹ The idea was put forward by Prof .Dr Novel K. Rai in a seminar conducted by Indigenous Linguistics Society of Nepal (then proposed) on August 26, 2005.

cu - la - bu - ra -ka-ri	‘goat shepherd’
kha-si-ja-ka-ri	‘man from the boarder’
la-sa-la	‘bed carrier’
hir-ja-ka-ri	‘sweet potato dealer’

b. Loan words

The Paharis are multilingual. They speak Pahari, Newar, Tamang and Khasa Nepali equally well. The school goers speak some English too. They learn a lot of English words, like radio, TV, FM, coat, time, late, exercise etc. A lot of Nepali verb roots have been introduced.

2.8 Language endangerment

The total ethnic population is 11,505, i.e. 0.05% of the total population of the country. Of them more than 74% no longer speak their mother tongue. When the people like Pahari, whose number is very small, shift their language it is a matter of serious endangerment. But in the case of Pahari language, 86.10% of *Kokudyakari* speak their own language which is a commendable fact for the speakers.

The young school graduates' mind is filled with a misconception that their progress is hindered because of their mother tongue because their language acquisition period is a hidden and vital cause of their language endangerment.

Out of 11505 Paharis all over the country, only 2995, that is 26 percent, speak their mother tongue. In other words 74% Paharis do not speak their mother language which is a matter of

serious concern for a language like Pahari, being a language of minority speakers. Of 1806 Paharis in Kodku hamlet they all speak Pahari (Kodpa). Their attitude towards their language is positive. For them Newar and Kodpa is accessible. There is also frequent code switching to Newar according to their needs.

2.9 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed Pahari language, people and their culture. The main area of Paharis' habitation is along the rivulet of Kodku. The nomenclature of the language is *loco-ethnonym* as Kodku Pahari or Kodku language (Kodpa)). *pihibhya* or *pi:bhæ* is autoglotonym whereas Pahari is the exonym. *P hi* is the Newar term for the Paharis. The chronological arrangement of the terms may be in this order: *Pi:* (compensatory lengthening) < *P hi* (vowel raising) < *p hi:* (derotaization) < *P ri* (normalization) < *P :ri* (degotalization) < *P h ri*. Pahari is also called Nagarkoti as a child of a Newar father and a Tamang mother. About the Nagarkoti, Newar society has a prevailing conception that a child from Maharjan father and Tamang mother is a Nagarkoti. This prevailing conception, G.S. Nepali (1965)'s survey and Badal Singh's narrations are merged in a single point that Pahari is the child of a Newar father and Tamang mother. According to Danuwar (2005:19-20) the Paharis are the battalion members left to watch Kathmandu valley by the Tirhutian king Harisingh Dev.

During the Rana regime they altered their title *Pahari* to *Nagarkoti* to get into the Nepal Army. The *kukudeyakari* (Endonym) have the title of *Pahari or Nagarkoti* with three major divisions' viz. *Raj Pahari*, *Khola Pahari* and *Pakha Pahari*. The first one serves for status (*raj* 'royal'), whereas latter two indicate the locations (*khola* 'rivulet' and *pakha* 'sloppy area'). These three groups are identified by their traditional ritual offerings. The intra - Pahari marriage is prohibited, because they are supposed to have originated from the same ancestors. the conservative Newar of the core area addressed them *G Newa:* 'Newars of jungle area'. In general *gama:* is frequently used. Nepali (1965:150) recognized Paharis as the upper class *Maharjan*. Their livelihoods rely on bamboo craft. They formed an organization entitled *Nepal Pahari Vikash Sangh* in 2056BS (1999). Paharis are recognized as a separate identity by the state. In the recent census their population (11,505) is mentioned

as a separate ethnic group (CBS: 2001). There are only 2995 speakers remaining. Among them 51.91% speakers live in Kodku village. In Kodku there are 1806 Paharis, of them 86.10% speak their language, and their attitude towards language is highly positive.

Pahari is a matriarchal community, most of the household and cultural decisions are made by the oldest lady of the house. They live in a joint family. Nevertheless, nuclear families are developing. They live up to four generations in a single house. Kinship is a good example of how the language differs in the way they handle an area of human experience (Crystal; 2000:62).

They belong to the mongoloid race and perform worship Hindu, Buddhist and traditional deities. They also worship of clan deity at *delmha khi*., Ward no 2 in Badikhel VDC on the full moon day in the month of Magh according to Vikramavda calendar. *Camlya* is the main festival of the Kodku Pahari speakers observed on Caitra Purnima 'full moon of April' for four days. The term *C lya*: is the blending of the two terms *C l* 'the month of chaitra' and *ya*: 'festival'.

Kshma Puja is performed at the end of the month of Ashadh and month of Mansir. As the title suggests, this Puja is offered seeking the pardon from the natural deity/ entity that is earth. Arwa: puja means the Puja offered on Sunday and Sacwa Puja means the Puja offered on Saturday. This Puja is similar to Aitbare Puja done by Danuwars of Duku village, Lalitpur (Shrestha: 2005). *Sikari* 'Hunter' *dyo* 'deity' the deity of hunters, who protects people from wild animals, is worshipped by the people of the jungle or jungle dwellers. Ganesha is a deity of patriarchal society (Sri Sri Anandmurti; 1996) Pahari, the denizens of in-between the jungle and settlements (Toffin 2007:15), worship both the deities. This sort of cultural practice shows that Pahari community is trying to shift from the matriarchal society to a patriarchal society.

Ghurmura is observed on the 14th of dark phase of Bhadra 'the fifth month of Vikramab calendar' by the Newars. The Newar festival starts with this festival, so is for the Paharis,

hence it is addressed as *nhuli nokho*: 'emerging festival'. In this festive people clean their houses and throw the torch made up of hay in *d ba*: (cross road) the process is called *bhu: li* (driving away the ghost). The festival is a post plantation sanitation phenomenon.

The people are obliged to the ecological chain. People offer food stuff to the frog that helps in consuming the insects like mosquito, scorpion during the plantation.

Birth, marriage and death are the three vital rites. The existing marriage systems in this society are based both on love and family arranged. Death is the last rite of the human society. *Kukudeyakari* cremates the corpse. The mourning period remain for seven to nine days. They are now replacing their traditional priest and barber to follow the Brahminic tradition.

Their staple diet consists of rice and lentils and during the festivals they normally eat *buji* 'beaten rice', buffalo meat and locally brewed alcoholic drinks.

The women wear blouse, sari, the girls wear kurta salwar, shirt and pant whereas boys wear shirt pant and cap. The old folks wear *jhini* 'belt'. Shawl is an essential item in an authoritative dress up for ladies. Sweater, jacket, coat are winter garments. Socks and shoes are casual wear.

Paharis today maintain their festivals and fairs despite the influx of modern forms of entertainment such as radio and television.

Paharis have many mis/beliefs about their life, tradition, agricultural practices, give and take and so on. Some of the beliefs have been recorded here.

The literacy rate of the VDC is (91.47%), male (46.95%), female (44.52%). The national literacy rate of Pahari ethnicity is (29.93 %) (CBS: 2003:132).

According to the scholars Pahari language belongs to Newari group of Himalayish sub section of Bodic branch under Tibeto-Burman sub family of Sino-Tibetan family (Noonan 2000: fig 1). "Pahari belongs to Bodic section under Newarish sub section". (Shafer 1966 - 73 : 3).

The position of the language is not yet clear. Different researchers have categorized in their own way. Bradley (2000:75) categorizes Newar under the Western Tibetan branch.

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Lalitpur, Sindhuli, Dolakha, Kabhre, Sindhupalchok, Ramechap districts are their native areas. However, the varieties of Pahari exist only at the lexical level.

The Pahari people are multilingual. Since the community depends on the commodity they sell, they speak Newar, Tamang and Nepali as well. They speak their own tongue. Their lingua franca is variable. They communicate in Pahari within the community.

Out of 11505 Paharis all over the country, only 26 percent, speak their mother tongue which is a highly disturbing matter for a language like Pahari, being a language of lesser number of speakers. The highest numbers of Paharis in Kodku (86.10%) hamlet speak their own language (Pahari). Their attitude towards their language is highly positive. For them Newar and Pahari language (Kodpa) is accessible. They switch to Newar or Nepali whenever they need to. At times they switch to Tamang as well.

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Though almost all the Pahari speak Pahari language (Kodpa) with each of the family members the teenagers, especially school goers, are inclined to Nepali for their communication even though they speak Pahari with their parents. From 1990 onwards the new couples who have married non - Paharis communicate in Nepali with their spouses. This is a matter of concern in the hamlet. The number of such families in the hamlet is 26.

The domination of the speakers reveals their overall activities. Language reveals the culture of the speaker. The phenomenon implies to Pahari too. The localities of the VDCs are exposed to the local varieties of their native language. *pur - ke - me* 'bamboo garden'

dar - to 'the mid area', *dhi - sin - ta* 'men of canal side' are some of the examples.

The Paharis have borrowed the words from Newar, Tamang, Khasa Nepali and English. The words, like radio, TV, FM, coat, time, late, exercise are the few examples of English borrowed words. A lot of Nepali verb roots have been introduced.

More than 74% no longer speak their mother tongue. When the people like Pahari, whose number is very small, shift to other language it is a matter of serious endangerment. But in the case of Pahari language, 86.10% of *Kokudyakari* speak their own language which is a commendable fact for the speakers.

CHAPTER 3

PHONOLOGY

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with Pahari phonology. This chapter consists of seven sections. In section (3.1) we present consonants, in section (3.2) we examined vowels in Pahari. In section (3.3) we examined syllable structure, whereas in section (3.4) we present distinctive features. In section (3.5) we present syllables in Pahari and finally in section (3.7) we summarize the chapter.

3.1 Consonants

The Pahari consonants are as follows:

Table 3.1: Pahari consonants

MANNER OF ARTICULATION	PLACES OF ARTICULATION				
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops voiceless, unaspl	p	t		k	
voiceless, aspl	ph	t ^h		kh	
voiced	b	d		g	
breathy	bh	dh		gh	
Affricates vl, unaspl		ts			

vl, asp		tsh			
voiced		dz			
breathy		dzh			
Fricative		s			h
Nasal voiced	m	n			
Breathy	mh	nh		h	
Lateral voiced, unasp		l			
voiced breathy		lh			
Taps voiced, unasp		r			
voiced, asp		(rh)			
Glides voiced	w		j		

/r/ is found in word medial position whereas /rh/ is found only in morphophonemically changed words. Hale (2006:1) has identified /hw/ and /hy/ as breathy glides. Shrestha and Tamang (2005:15) followed Hale which is untenable work, since breathy glides are replaced by glottal /h/. Kansakar (2005 pc) strongly denies the breathy glides in Newar and this also applies to Pahari.

3.1.1 Minimal pairs

There is a contrast between voiceless and voiced, aspirated and unaspirated for stops, affricatives and Nasal. Among the fricatives /s/ is voiceless and /h / is voiced. The rest of the consonants are voiced

A. Stops

Pahari like Newar has 12 stops. They are symmetrically arranged of aspirated (voiced (VD) and voiceless (VL)) and unaspirated. The Stops in Pahari are of three types: bilabial, alveolar and velar.

i) Bilabials

There are four velar stops that show the contrast for aspirated and un-aspirated. They occur in word initial, medial and final position.

/p/ vs /ph/

pi: 'reed' phi: 'leak'

/b/ vs /bh/

bu 'field' bhu: 'ghost'

ii) Alveolar stops

In Pahari there are four alveolar. They occur in initial, medial and final position.

/t/ vs /th/

tu: 'mustard' thu: 'blowpipe'

/d/ vs /dh/

du: 'lowland' dhu: 'dust'

iii) Velar stops

/ k /, / kh /, / g / and /gh / are velar stops, that shows the contrast for aspirated and un-aspirated. They occur in word initial, medial and final position.

/ k/ vs /kh/

ku: 'spade' khu: 'lame'

/g/ vs /gh/

go: 'cow shade' gho: 'grinding mill'

B. Affricates

There are four affricates. The occurrence of /dzh/ is rare.

/ts/ vs /tsh/

tso 'top' tsho 'wheat'

/dz/ vs /dzh/

d^za: 'height' d^{zh}a: 'grass'

C. Fricatives

/ s / and /h / are fricatives in Pahari.

/s/ vs /h/

si	'louse'	hi	'blood'
----	---------	----	---------

D. Nasals

There are six nasals in Pahari: three clear and three breathy. Their occurrence is universal, i.e. word initial, medial and final position.

/ /	vs	/ h/
-----	----	------

o	'five'	ho:	'before'
---	--------	-----	----------

/n/	vs	/nh/
-----	----	------

nu	'my'	nhu	'new'
----	------	-----	-------

/m/	vs	/mh/
-----	----	------

me	'tongue'	mhe	'sack'
----	----------	-----	--------

E. Laterals

In Pahari / l / and / lh / are laterals, that show the phonological opposition in initial position.

/l/	vs	/lh/
-----	----	------

l	'way"	lh	'stone'
---	-------	----	---------

F. Taps

/rh/ is not a genuine phoneme since it derives as a result of morphophonemic process. That is why it is kept under consideration, which is symbolized by the parenthesis.

/r/ vs /rh/

kiri 'the fine split of a bamboo' m rhi 'soya'

G. Glides

There are two pairs of Glides: /w/, /wh/ and /j/, /jh/. But /wh/ and /jh/ are just clusters for Pahari as in Newar. Hale (2006:12) strongly pleads it as the aspirated glides, but Kansakar and other prominent Newar linguists deny the logic. So the two phonemes are excluded from the table. There is no phonological opposition between / who / and /ho/ and /hja /and /jha / that gives same meaning, hence /wh/and /jh/ are excluded.

/w/ vs /j/

wa 'teeth' ja 'paddy'

3.1.2 Distribution of Consonants

Pahari and Kathmandu Newar do not have word – final consonants, although syllable final consonants do occur. The following are the examples of distribution of Pahari consonants.

Table 3.2, Distribution of Consonants

Phoneme	Initial (#-)	Intervocalic(v-v)	Final (-#)
k	+ ki : 'insect'	+ ikana 'early'	+ pulk 'patch up'
kh	+ kh 'face'	+ hakhi 'root'	

g	+ ga	'shawl'	+ diga	'make'	
gh	+ gha	'hang'			
	+ o	'five'	+ d ^{zh} u a	'bird'	+ s 'shake'
h	+ ho	'front'	+ dzi homa	'Fifteen'	
ts	+ tsa	'soil'	+ atsa	'knife'	
tsh	+ tshi	'you'			
dz	+ dza	'rice'	+ bidz :	'pan'	
dzh	+ jh :	'graze'			
t	+ ta:	'padlock'	+ tutu		
th	+ tha:	'place'	+ d t ^h i		
d	+ da:	'fat'	+ nuda	'to me'	
dh	+ dh	'pop'	+ d ^h e	'canal'	
n	+ na	'agent'	+ m n	'brosis'	+ ky n 'show'
nh	+ nhan	'invite'			
p	+ pakhi	'rope'	+ pō	'mango'	
p ^h	+ p ^h a:	'plinth'			
b	+ b	'floor'	+ d ba:	'crossroad'	
b ⁺	+ b ^h	'momoent'			
m	+ mi	'man'	+ j mp	'right side'	
mh	+ m ^h a:	'plane'			
j	+ ja	'paddy'			
r	+ r nd ^z a	'planer'	+ ire	'Patan city'	
l	+ la	'hand'	+ alo	'sky'	+ sil 'clean'

lh	+ lh	'bury'	+ bulh	'carry'	
w	+ wa	'rain'			
s	+ sa	'cow''	+ p ^h usa	'air'	
h	+ hak ^h ra	'black'	+ d h :	'inside'	

3.2 Vowels

There are three types of vowels in Pahari: oral, nasal and diphthongs. Oral and nasal vowels are again divided into short and long vowels. Pahari, like Newar has a system of six vowels. They are symmetrical in arrangement. The length is distinctive.

On the basis of tongue height there are high, mid and low vowels whereas on the basis of frontness is front and back (Chomsky and Halle, 1968:34). The vowels in the Pahari are given in the table 6:

Table 3.3: Pahari vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low			
		a	

The Pahari vowel contrasts for length [:] and for nasalization [~]

On the basis of Frontness and Roundness

Table 3.4: The Pahari vowels on the basis of length and nasalization

Front	Front (+)				Front (-)							
Round	Round (-)								Round (+)			
Phonation	Oral		nasal		oral		nasal		oral		nasal	
Tongue Height	high	mid	high	mid	mid low	low	mid low	low	high	mid	high	mid
Simple	i	e				a		ã	u	o		õ
Long	i:	e:	:	:	:	a:	:	ã:	u:	o:	:	õ:

Backness

Table 3.5: The Pahari vowels on the basis of backness

	Front				Central				Back			
Oral	I	i:	e	e:	a	a:		:	u	u:	o	o:
Nasal		:		:	ã	ã:		:		:	õ	õ:

Tongue Height

Table 3.6: The Pahari vowels on the basis of tongue height

		Pahari Vowels		
Bell(1867)	Jones(1918)	Front vowel	Central	Back
High	Close	i		u
Mid-High	Half –close	e		o

Mid-Low	Half-open			
Low	Open		a	

Minimal pairs

The following minimal pairs establish the phonemic status of each of the vowel.

High vowel

/i/ and /u/ are two high vowels. /i/ is the front whereas /u/ is the back.

/i/ vs /u/

khi 'copula' ku 'load'

/i:/ vs /u:/

khi: 'plain' ku: 'spade'

/ / vs / /

kh 'spread' k 'husband'

/:/ vs /:/

kh: 'madal' k: 'Pitcher'

Mid vowel

There are two mid vowels; /e/, /o/. The /e/ is front whereas /o/ is back.

/e/ vs /o/

ge 'fear' go 'Let's go'

/ e: / vs / o: /

ke: run (Imp) ko: 'hot'

/ / vs / õ /

kh 'face' k^hõ 'scar'

/ : / vs / õ: /

p : 'insert sth' põ: ' pu o'

Low vowel

There are two low vowels: / ²⁰ / and / a /. The former one is Central mid low whereas later one is central low vowel.

/ / vs / a /

j mp 'right side' sa 'cow,'

/ : / vs / a: /

j 'waist' sa: 'fertilizer'

/ / vs / ã /

s 'hair' gã 'dry'

²⁰ Pokharel;(2000: 129) opines this vowel as a back low vowel.

/ : / vs / ã: /

g 'cock' dã: 'money'(sipa)

3.2.1 Distribution of vowels

In this subsection we discuss the positional distribution of the vowels in the language.

a. Oral vowels

In Pahari oral vowels occur in word initial, medial and final position.

Table 3.7: Distribution of Pahari oral vowels

Simple oral	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
/ i /	+ ima 'eagle'	+ midza 'ant'	+ gubi 'hail'
/ u /	+ u 'this '	+ tutu 'milk'	+ ku 'load'
/ e /	+ e 'vocative'	+ pe 'insert'	+ lese 'damsel '
/ o /	+ obu 'pestle '	+ poga: 'den'	+ go 'let's go '
/ /	+ p 'mango'	+dz mp 'right side'	+ jala 'ala chi'
/ a /	+ at ^s a 'knife'	+ hakhra 'black'	+ puga 'snow'

b. Nasal vowels

Pahari has distinct nasal vowels .The phonemic nasalized vowels exist in Bodish group of Tibeto - Burman and Nepali (Noonan, 2003: 6). Pahari has equal number of nasalized vowels of oral vowel that is the universal character of not exceeding to the oral vowel.

Table 3.8: Distribution of Pahari nasal vowels

Simple nasal	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
/ /	+ u 'pearl'	+ bh pu: 'coral'	+ s 'wood'
/ /	+ e 'I go'	+ g tsula 'deer'	+ k 'husband'
/ /	+ 'Kathmandu'	+ kh dza 'egg'	+ kh 'face'
/ õ /	+ õgu 'gone'	+ kōthe 'nail'	+ lodzõ 'young'
/ /	+ s 'share'	+ dz 'waist'	+ g 'cock'
/ ã /	+ ã 'yawning'	+ bhārha 'utensil'	+ gã 'dry'

c. Long Vowels

It is of two types; oral and nasal. The occurrence of long nasal vowels is rare in word initial position.

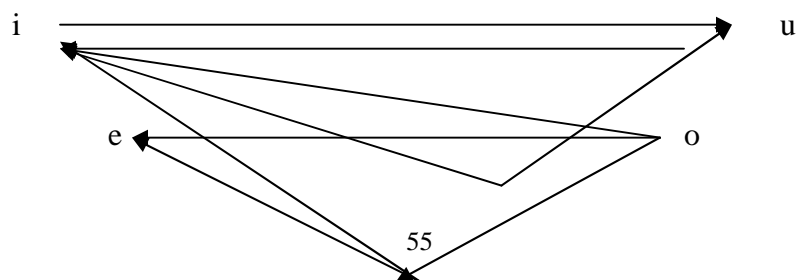
Table 3.9 Distribution of Pahari long vowels

Oral	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
/ i: /	+ i: 'DEM PR'		+ ki: 'insect'
/ u: /	+ u: kh na 'o see'	+bulu:dz 'blouse(B)'	+ khu: 'lame'
/ e: /	+ e: 'vocation'	+ pe:t̪sa 'fermented'	+ ze: 'old'
/ o: /	+ o: padzu 'o uncle'	+ mo:d̪zi 'banana'	+ go: 'stable'
/ ɔ: /			+ k ɔ: 'leg'
/ a: /	+ a: 'now'		+ sa: 'fertilizer'
Nasal	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
/ ɔ: /		+m ɔ:t̪sa 'mushroom'	+ kh ɔ: 'madal'
/ ɔ: /		+ g bhi: 'wildcat'	+ k ɔ: 'Pitcher'
/ ɔ: /			+ bidʒ : 'Pan'
/ õ: /			+ musõ:'grave'
/ ɔ: /			+ d h ɔ: 'inside'
/ ã: /			+ dã: 'money'

3.2.2 Diphthongs

There are 9 diphthongs in Pahari. They are as shown in the Figure:3.1

Figure 3.1:, Diphthongs



a

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|--------|-------|-------------|
| 1) i | → | u | / iu / | iuu | 'came' |
| 2) u | → | i | / ui / | hui | 'horn' |
| 3) a | → | i | / ai / | dzai | 'rice' |
| 4) a | → | e | / æ / | kjæ | 'son' |
| 5) o | → | a | / oa / | poa | 'pore' |
| 6) o | → | i | / oi / | poica | 'group' |
| 7) o | → | e | / oe / | goe | 'moustache' |
| 8) | → | u | / u / | usi | 'chin' |
| 9) | → | i | / i / | ira | 'liquor' |

These diphthongs are categorized as complex vowels (Malla; 1985:3).

3.3 Clusters

A. C + Glides

gja	'sari'
djo:	'god'
bhjanta	'brinjal'

B. Across syllable

The words with three syllables generally drops middle syllable and forms across syllable.

g	guca	'ring'
gl	b gli	'pocket'
tsts	luttsa	'idle'

cp	phatsp	'yellow cherry'
lp	melpasi	'barberry'
lp	gelpõ	'lime'
rp	karpō:	'throat'
sp	tuspu	'cucumber seed'
mb	sambudzi	'snacks'
nth	sunth	'morning'
nth	bhonth	'evening'
pth	lepthe	'fold'
pt	ghoptn	'door pane'
br	gabro	'neck'
gr	tshugra	'skin'
khrr	khakhra	'bitter'
p ^h r	lip ^h ra	'foot print'
mhts	dzemhtsa	'Nepali purse'
nd	bhundur kha	'owl'
nk	sinkiri	'dental plaque'
mk	kumki	'khumre'
nts	g ntsa	'naval'
ntsh	m ntshe	'man'
nt	bhjanta	'brinjal'

nz	m ndza	'bro-sis'
rg	torg	'long gourd'
rm	khirm	'wart'
rs	mhursi	'lip'
rdz	ts p rdzae thakuro	'highly difficult'
lp	golpi:	'push with neck'
lg	nalga:	'mud pit'
lk	pulk	'patch'
lm	tjalma	'calf muscle'
lm	silma	'liver'
lp	khatpāi	'thigh'
ls	sols	'flu/ red bean'
lk	bilk	'curved'
lkh	pulkha	'wall'
lth	pultha	'distiller'
ldzh	dzildzh	'son in law'
sg	t ^s usgili	'lizard'
sl	asla	'brick dye'
sk	kuskiri	'driving stick'
skh	s skh l	'in-laws'
sm	s sm n	'brother /sister in law'

sm s sma 'mother in law'

st s sta 'sister in law'

sth mhusthuli 'squeeze'

Liquid + Stop

tsholbu 'the day of initiation'

2. within syllable

g -gutsa 'ring'

tsts luttsa 'idle'

C+Glides

ts -la-ja:>ts l-ja: 'the festival of Chaitra

k -lja: 'the juniors'

C. Word final

No native word is found in this category.is word final

tsp phats (-põ) '(isi)yellow cherry'

lp mel (-pasi) 'chutra (N)'

sp tus (-pu) 'cucumber seed'

rp kar (-po:) 'throat'

Table 3.10: Clusters

	k	kh	g	gh	ts	dz	dz ^h	t	th	d	n	p	b	m	j	r	l	w	s	h
k															+			+		+

kh															+	+		+		
g															+	+	+	+		+
gh															+			+		
				+											+			+		+
h															+			+		
ts					+							+			+			+		+
tsh					+										+			+		
z															+			+		+
z ^h							+								+			+		
t								+							+			+		+
th															+			+		
d															+			+		+
dh															+			+		
n	+					+		+	+	+					+	+		+		+
nh															+			+		
p								+	+						+			+		+
ph															+	+		+		
b													+		+	+		+		+
bh															+			+		
m	+											+			+			+		+

mh					+										+			+		
j															+			+		
r			+			+						+		+	+			+	+	+
l	+	+	+				+		+			+		+	+			+	+	+
lh															+			+		
w															+			+		
s	+	+	+						+	+			+		+	+		+		
h															+			+		

[Based in Joshi's (1984:32) format]

3.4 Distinctive features

In this section we present distinctive features of consonant and vowel phonemes of Pahari. The consonant shows distinctive features (Chomsky and Halle: 1968). The following tables summarize the distinctive features in Pahari

Table 11: Distinctive features matrix of Pahari consonants

	p	p	b	b	t	t	d	d	k	k	g	g	t	t	d	d	m	m	n	n			l	l	s	w	j	r	r	h
		h		h		h		h		h		h	s	s	z	z		h		h		h		h				h		
C on	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+

H SP	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+				-	+		
Te ns e	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-															

Kansakar (1979:128)

Distinctive feature matrix of Pahari Vowel

Table 3.12: Distinctive feature matrix of Pahari vowel

	i	I			u	u			e	e			o	o	õ	õ					a	a	ã	ã
	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
High	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Low	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
Front	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Back	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Roun d	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ATR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
Nasal	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
Lengt h	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+

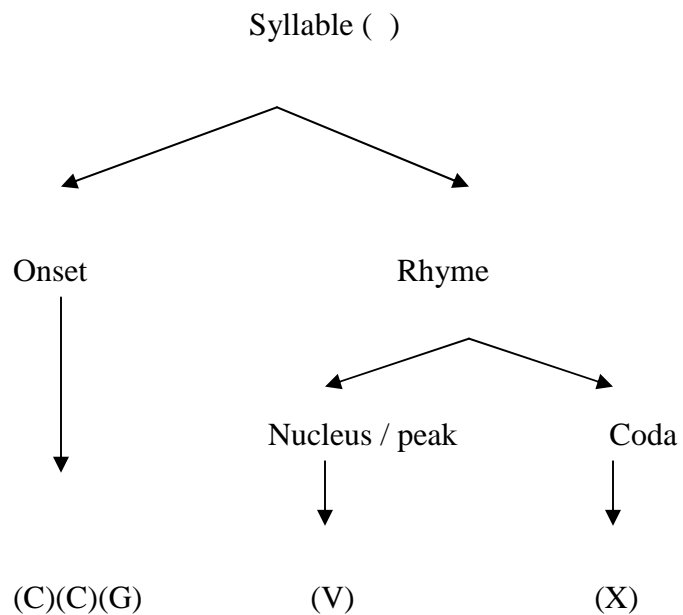
3.5 Syllables

The language exhibits eight types of canonical structures of syllable.

3.5.1 Syllable pattern

The basic syllable pattern of Pahari is (C) (C) (G) V (X), where G stands for glides and X for consonant.

Figure 3.2: Syllable structure



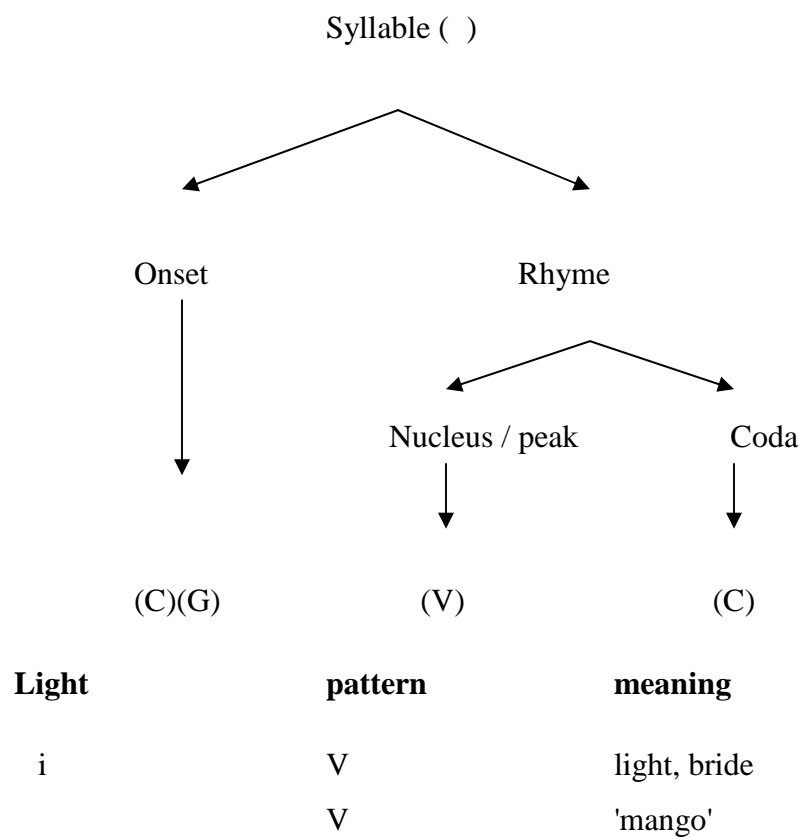
3.5.2 Syllable weight

The weight of the syllable is solely determined by the syllable, C, CG in Pahari

Light syllable

A syllable in which the rhyme consists of only nucleus is called a light syllable.

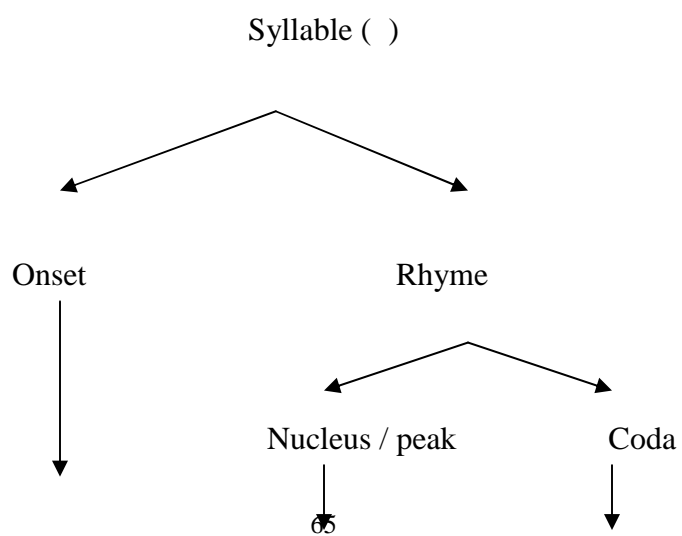
Figure 3.3: Light syllable



Heavy syllable:

A syllable in which the rhyme consists of VV or VC is referred to a heavy syllable.

Figure 3.4: Heavy syllable



	(C)(G)	(V)	(V) (C)
Heavy		pattern	meaning
iuu		VVV	'came'
u-si		VVCV	'chin'
i-ra		VVCV	'liquor'

3.5.3 Complex onset

Pahari registers (C) (G) type of complex onset. e.g.

j .lu	CGV	'weired'
gjæ	CGV	'Sari'
tja	CGV	'win'
pw	CGV	'opening'

3.5.4 Complex coda

Pahari registers (C) (C) type of complex coda. e.g.

pulk	CVCC	'patch'
------	------	---------

3.6 Suprasegmental features

Pahari does not have tone system. It differentiates for vowel length (:) and nasalization (~).

Vowel length	Nasal length
/ i: / ki: 'insect'	/ : / kh : 'madal'
/ u: / khu: 'lame'	/ : / kh : 'thief'
/ e: / dhe: 'canal'	/ : / dh : 'maize corn'
/ o: / po: 'barrage'	/ õ: / põ: ' pu o' (N)
/ : / k : 'leg'	/ : / k : 'nail'
/ a: / da: 'fat'	/ ã: / dã: 'money' [sipa]

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, we dealt with segmental and supra-segmental system of Pahari language. It has 30 consonant sounds. They can be classified in terms of manner of articulation, place of articulation, voicing and aspiration. For manner of articulation they can be classified as stops, affricates, nasals, tap, laterals and approximations. in terms of place of articulation they can be classified as bilabials, alveolar, palatals, velars and glottal. Voiced vs. voiceless, aspirated vs unaspirated and clear vs breathy have contrasts. The distribution of all the consonants find in word initial, medial and final positions. The phoneme /rh/ is found only in intervocalic position.

There are three categories of vowels: oral, nasal, and diphthong. The oral and nasal can be further divided into simple and long. There are six vowel sounds. They all have vowel length, nasal and nasal length counterparts. There are nine diphthongs. The distribution of the all the monophthongal vowels occur word initially, except nasal, long, medial and final vowels.

The basic syllable pattern of Pahari is (C) (C) (G) V (X), where G stands for glide and X for consonant. It shows two suprasegmentals: vowel length and nasalization. Pahari is a toneless language

CHAPTER 4

MORPHOPHONOLOGY

4.0 Outline

This chapter examines morphophonology in Pahari. It consists of two sections. We discuss segmental process in Pahari in section (4.1); assimilation in sub-section (4.1.1); Point of articulation assimilation, in subsection (4.1.2) manner of articulation Assimilation, epenthesis in section (4.2); insertion of vowel, in subsection (4.2.1); insertion of glide in sub-section (4.2.2). Deletion in section (4.3); deletion of vowel in sub-section (4.3.1); deletion of consonant in sub-section (4.3.3), Vowel harmony in section (4.4); and we summarize the chapter in (4.5).

In this section we discuss the morphophonological processes such as assimilation, epenthesis, deletion and vowel harmony. Assimilation is conditioned by surrounding segments. Epenthesis and deletion are conditioned by syllable structure whereas vowel harmony is conditioned by larger structures. Vowel harmony is an assimilation process in which all the vowels in a given phonological word to the same vowel class or share some crucial features (Symons 1993:28-32).

4.1 Assimilation

It occurs where a segment becomes phonetically more similar to an influencing one. The language exhibits three types of assimilations. These may be referred to as point of articulation assimilation, manner or process assimilation and complex assimilation. They are discussed as follows:

4.1.1 Point of articulation assimilation

Intervocalic alveolar /-t-/ becomes tap /-r-/ (rotacization) as in (1), is a common type of assimilation in Pahari. It can be formulized as:

/t/ → /r/ / V __ V/

(1) *sikar mheteu(>mhereu)*

sikar mher -e -u

hunting play -INF -PST

'Some one has gone for hunting.'

vl vd/ ____ vd

<pu, voiceless becomes <bu> (2) , voiced followed by /thi-/ voiced, elsewhere is <pu>.

(2) *thibu(pu>bu) cibiya gwara?*

thi -bu cibi -ya gwara

one -CF knife -POS how much

'How much does a knife cost?'

(3) m n - tsa > m n - tsa (deletion of vowel)

> m n-dza (voicing)

Voiceless changed into voiced.

(4) /a/ → /o/ __ /i/

nhj - i > nhoi [vowel raising]

seven - tens seventy

'Seven tens become seventy.'

Mid front vowel after affricative sound alters into mid back vowel before assimilating with high front vowel as in (5). The process is known as ablauting or vowel gradation (Crystal; 2003:207).

(5) /e/ /o/ / ___ /i

ce - i > coi [ablauting]

eight - tens eighty

'Eight tens become eighty.'

4.1.2 Manner of articulation assimilation

(6) *ji h ga ko bu: khiu:*

ji h ga -ko bu -: khiu:

1 3 village-LOC born -PFV yes

vl vd /v/_ /v/

<-ko> becomes <-ga> before aspirated /bu/

(7) *nu buga jhu a ekko du*

nu bu -ga jhu a ekko du

my field-LOC bird many COP

'There are many birds in my field.'

4.2 Epenthesis

In this section we discuss a) insertion of vowel, and b) insertion of glide.

4.2.1 Insertion of vowel:

Insertion of /-u-/ after /bi-/ , and followed by the morpheme /-ni/

(8) *na bho: biuni*

na bho: bi -u -ni

1 book give -A -PST

'I gave a book.'

Insertion of /- / after /mher-/ , and followed by the morpheme /-ni/

(9) *ji mher ni*

ji mher - : -ni

1 play -A -1PST

'I played.'

(See chapter 8 .2.1.a for more data.)

4.2.2 Insertion of glide

Insertion of glide /j/ is most common in Pahari, as in

/tshæma:> tshjæma:/(10) and /bālaæ> bālyæ/(11).

(10) *tsotha-bh kh djojata thipu kho tshæma:*

tsotha-bh kh -djo-jata thi-pu kho tshja -e ma:

cotha-time thief-god-AD one-CF radish offer-INF need

'A radish should be offered to the thief-god at the time of cotha (festival).'

(11) *bāljae iu TV gh ra:?*

bāljae i -(g)u TV gh ra:

nice come-NOM TV which PART

'Which TV has clear picture?'

4.3 Deletion

In section Deletion of vowel and Deletion of consonant are discussed.

4.3.1 Deletion of vowel

Deletion of medial vowel in a word is common in Pahari (12), (13).

(12) *kh thiba bālasini s no khise hempho (<he-mu-pho)*

kh thi-ba bāla-sini s -no khise he-mu-pho

face one-CF nice-CND who-EMP criticize do-NEG-able

'No one can criticize a beautiful person.'

(13) *thi: lhabako polbh jibj na:læjo(<naulæjo)*

thi-(gi>): lhaba-ko pola-bh ji-bij na:la -ejo

one-CF garlic-LOC peel-time ten-CF meet -NS/SH

'A piece of garlic consists of ten segments.'

4.3.2 Deletion of consonant

The classifier <-gu> changes into <-gi> before the high front vowel <-i>, whereas, it changes into <- u> following the nasal sound, as in / sō- u kh dza/ 'three-CF' eggs. <-gi> is the vowel fronting /or umlauting <-gu>, an inanimate classifier. / *thi:kh dza* / is the morphophonemic of / *thi:gu kh dza* /, which is shown in (14).

(14) thi-gu kh dza> thi-u kh dza (devocalization)

>thiikh dza (umlauting)

>thi:kh dza (Vowel coalescent)

(15) *thi:/dzigi kh dza bi*

thi -:/ dzi-gi kh dza bi-

one -CF / ten-CF eggs give-IMP.

'Give (somebody) one / ten eggs.'

(16) /tsh - ga / house-LOC 'in the house'

> / tsh - a / (c - deletion)

> /tsh - a: / (compensatory lengthening)

> / tsh - : / (vowel raising)

> / tshe - : / (denasalization)

> / tshj - / (glottalization)

(17) *tshe thiba kausi du: bāla:*

tshe - thi-ba kausi du-u bāla -:

house-LOC one-CF balcony be-NOM nice -NS/SH

'A house with a balcony is nice.'

(18) *puwatsa* 'seedling'

> *puatsa* (deletion of glide)

> *poatsa* (vowel lowering)

(19) *dzaki*>*dzai* 'rice' (devocalization in Pahari)

Except in Pahari it is /dzaki/ 'rice', which is devocalized and remains /dzai/

4.4 Vowel harmony

The vowel *a* and *e* forms diphthong / vowel glide *æ*.

a-e > æ

(20) *djojata thipu kho tshjæma:*

djo-jata thi-pu kho tshja -e ma:

god-AD one-CF radish offer -INF need:

'A radish should be offer to the god.'

The possible vowel harmony/ diphthongs/ complex vowels are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. The possible vowel harmony in the Pahari

a. i > u	/ iu /	iuu	'came'
b. u > i	/ ui /	hui	'horn'
c. a > i	/ ai /	dzai	'rice'
d. a > e	/ æ /	kæpuro	'son'
e. o > a	/ oa /	poatsa	'seedling'
f. o > i	/ oi /	poitsa ni i	'constellation'
g. o > e	/ oe /	goe	'moustache'
h. > u	/ u /	usi	'chin'
i. > i	/ i /	ira	'liquor'

4.5 Summary

In this Chapter we have discussed the morphophonological processes such as assimilation, epenthesis, deletion and vowel harmony. Assimilation is conditioned by surrounding segments. Epenthesis and deletion are conditioned by syllable structure whereas vowel harmony is conditioned by larger structures. Vowel harmony is an assimilation process in which all the vowels in a given phonological word to the same vowel class or share some crucial features (Symons 1993:28-32).

This language exhibits three types of assimilations. These may be referred to as point of articulation assimilation, manner or process assimilation and complex assimilation. In point of articulation assimilation Intervocalic alveolar /-t-/ becomes tap /-r-/ (rotacization) as in (1), is a common type of assimilation in Pahari.

Epenthesis and deletion are conditioned by syllable structure whereas vowel harmony is conditioned by larger units such as complex vowels or diphthongs. Deletion of medial vowel in a word is common in Pahari

CHAPTER 5

WRITING SYSTEM

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with writing system in Pahari. In section (5.1) we deal with the methodology. In section (5.2) we discuss writing system of the language. in section (5.3) we dealt with organization of the alphabets. We summarize the chapter in section (5.4).

5.1 Methodology

This writing system has been proposed on the basis of the phonological analysis made in chapter 3.

5.1.1 Compiling

Though the system adopted the Devanagari script, aspirated nasal sounds have been represented through the modified additional letters. Like- **इह** for h , **न्ह** for nh , **ह्य** for yh , **ह** for rh , **ल** for lha, **व** for vha.

5.2 Orthography

The development of writing has been one of humanity's greatest intellectual achievements. From pictogram, and logograms, the graphic representation of language has developed through syllabic writing to the alphabet. This was achieved through the creation of a relationship between graphic symbols and sounds.

Many of the large number of writing systems found throughout the modern world owe their origin directly to the Semitic writing systems of the eastern Mediterranean. As the idea of writing spread new forms of the symbols were independently invented and sound-symbol correspondences were altered in accordance with language structures. Some writing systems derived from the Graeco-phonetic tradition are today scarcely

CHAPTER 6

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

6.0. Outline

This chapter examines nominal morphology in Pahari. It consists of four sections. Section 6.1 examines the nominal inflectional system and in Section 6.2 we take the nominal derivational morphology. Section 6.3 deals with the pronominal morphology and finally Section 6.4 summarizes the main points made in this chapter.

6.1 Noun inflections

In this section we examine inflectional categories in Pahari nouns. They are: gender, number, and case. This section has been adapted from Shrestha and Tamang (2005).

6.1.1 Gender

In Pahari, gender plays no role in the verb agreement system (see chapter 7). It has no grammatical gender. Gender is limited to the lexical level. In sentences (1) *ma* 'mother' (feminine) & (2) *baba* 'father' (masculine) the verbs do not show a distinct morpheme for the gender. The sentences from Kathmandu-Patan Newar (henceforth KN) (3) and (4) also have no distinct morpheme for the gender. However, Pahari is similar to KN in the context of grammatical gender distinction marker.

(1) *mana tora pulkari*

ma	-na	tora	pulk -a -ri.
mother-AGT		cap	patch -A -3PST

'(My) mother patched up the cap.'

(2) *babana w so suuri*

baba -na	w so	su -: -ri
father-AGT	cloth	sew -A -3PST

'(My) father sewed the clothes.'

(3) *mam t puli p rk l .*

mam - ~	t puli	p rk - l
mother -ERG	cap	patch -3PST

'(My) mother patched up the cap.'

(4) *babã w so sul*

baba -~	w so	su -l
father -ERG	cloth	sew -3PST

'(My) father sewed the clothes.'

Besides this as KN, Pahari has two natural genders which are marked by different markers. In both the varieties, gender distinction is lexical, not morphological. Lexical markers are discussed below:

a. <thu-/ma-> prefix:

The masculine is marked with <thu-> or <ba-> prefix whereas the feminine is marked by <ma-> exactly similar to KN. (5a) and (5b) are lexicons from Pahari, whereas (5c), (5d) and (5e) are from KN.

(5)

Gloss	<i>ba</i> go 'masculine'	<i>ma</i> go 'feminine'
a. buffalo	thu-mesa	ma-mesa
b. duck	ba- hoi	ma- hoi
c. sparrow	ba-ts kh :	ma-ts kh :
d. dog	ba-khitsa	ma-khitsa
e. buffalo	thu-me:	ma-me:

b. <d a/ d h -/ma->prefix

<*d a*-> for masculine and <*ma*-> for feminine is used.

(6)

a. dog	d a-kudzu	ma-kudzu
b. cow	d h -sa	ma-sa

<d h -> means 'bull' itself, is added on <sa> 'cow' that conveys the meaning of bull cow is a reduplication, works as a quasi gender marker. In KN <d h > is sufficient for masculine of <sa> is suppletion of lexicon for gender alteration.

c. Suppletion of a word

A new word is supplied to represent masculine whereas in case of the feminine /*ma*-/ is prefixed on their archaic species [*tsula* (*tsol* in KN) 'quadruped animal', *kha* 'birds')]. Example (7a and b) are from Pahari, and (7c and d) are from KN.

(7)

a. goat	duga	ma-tsula
b. fowl	gõ:	ma-kha

c. goat	dugu	tsol
d. fowl	go :	ma-kha

d. <- i> suffix

Addition of <- i> suffix to masculine in case of caste, ethnicity to alter into feminine. <-ni> (8a) is the allomorph of <- i>. <- i- i> (6d) is just a reduplication, that is similar to /n i/ 'female butcher' in KN is itself a feminine in which <-ni> feminine marker is added is a redundancy.

(8)

a. Pahari	pihi	pihi-ni
b. Newar	ni-dza	li- i
c. Tamang	s -dza	swa- i
d. Brahmin	burmu	bai- i- i

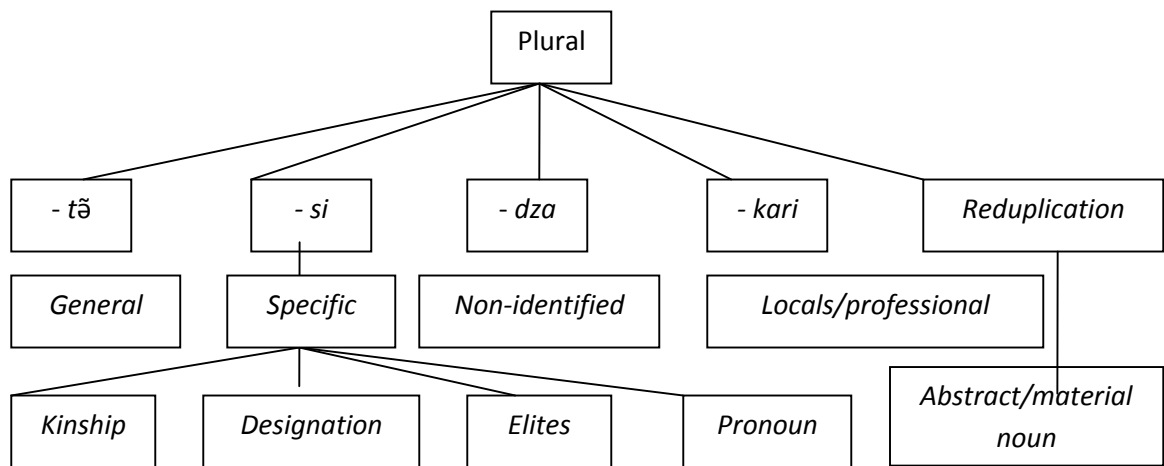
These four lexical genders are similar with KN. Only difference is there is no / /sound in KN phonology, but it is exist in Bhaktapur Newar (henceforth BN). Both KN and BN varieties have no plural marker with <- i> rather <-ni>. (6e-h) are lexicons from KN and BN, which are very much proximal to Nepali especially in the case of (8f, g and h).

e. Kshetri	kh	kh -ni
f. Thakali	th s	thakse-ni
g. Gurung	gur :	gur :se-ni
h. Terrain	m rsja	m rsja-ni

6.1.2 Number

Pahari has singular and plural numbers. Plural is marked with the morpheme <-t > general. <-si > as <-p > in KN marks the specific plural counts for kinship, designation, honoured, and pronoun. <-dza > is used in non identified kinship.

Table 6. 1: Pahari plural markers



a. <-t >

(9) *khaitsa /mesa/ tsula/g tsula / muntshit hal ri*

khaitsa / mesa / tsula / g tsula / muntshi -t hal - -ri

chicken / buffalo/ goat / deer / man -PL cry -A -3PST

'chicken/ buffalo/ goat/deer/men cried.'

b. <-si>

It is an animate plural marker used in four distinct categories referring to humans namely: kinship, designation, honoured name and pronoun. It is similar to KN as /-pi/ is used for four human categories.

(i) Kinship

(10) *basi masi na heo dze terehema:*

ba -si ma -si -na he -o dze ter -e -he ma:

father-PL mother-PL -ERG say -NML work obey -INF-do need

'One should obey parents (saying).'

(11) *tasikari djoko iu*

ta -si -kari djo -ko i -u

Elder sister-PL-PL god -LOTS come -PST

'Elder sisters came to the goddess (temple).'

(ii) Designation

(12) *dzudzusita p hila djo pudza hema:*

dzudzu-si-ta p hila djo pudza he ma:

King-PL-DAT first God worship do need

The king should be worshipped first.

(13) *hakimsita n m skar he .*

hakim -si -ta n m skar he -ø .

Offitser -PL -AD salute do -IMP

'Salute the officers.'

(iii) Honorific nouns

(14) *bhai / nanisi gh tha w i ta dzuja ra?*

bhai / nani -si gh tha w -i -ta dzuja ra?

brother / lady-PL where go INF -PURP be(CJ) PART

'Gentleman / lady! Where are you going to?'

(15) *bhadzu/babusi si mh na phu?*

bhadzu/babu - si mh -na phu?

gentleman -PL body-ERG able

'Gentleman! Are you all right?'

(16) *gurusita manehema:*

guru-si -e -ta man -e he ma:

guru-PL -GEN -DAT respect -INF do need

'The gurus/jhankris (shamans) should be respected.'

/guru/'teacher/jhankris (shamans)''(16) is their respectable persons, in changing socio-political scenario, they are beginning to treat them as general people, which is represented by <-t > a general plural marker.

(iv) Pronouns

Paharis live in a homogeneous society of equal strata, which is reflected in the language they speak. However Pahari has no honorific pronouns.

(17) **u si w ri*

u	-si	w	-ri
S/he-PL		go	-3PST

'S/he went.'

*it is the remnant [(h > (simplification) > u (denasalization)] of *h* .

b. <-dza>

<-*dza*> is used as a plural marker in non-identified kinship terms, which is rare in use.

(18) *m n dza simako dzha:ri*

m n	-dza	sima-ko	dzha	:-	-ri
brother / sister-PL		tree -LOC	climb	-A	-3PST

'The brother / sisters climbed the tree.'

ts. <-kari>

<-*kari*> marks the assembly of locals and professionals. The examples (19 a, b, c) cover the meaning of professionals whereas (19 d-i) and sentence (20) convey the inhabitants. Sentence (21) conveys the meaning of age group.

(19)

- | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| a. <i>go:ja</i> | - <i>kari</i> | 'workers at cow-shade' |
| b. <i>dzagir niu</i> | - <i>kari</i> | 'service holders' |
| ts. <i>dze siu</i> | - <i>kari</i> | 'skilled men' |
| d. <i>sipa</i> | - <i>kari</i> | 'inhabitants of sipa' |
| e. <i>pari</i> | - <i>kari</i> | 'inhabitants of pari' |
| f. <i>iti</i> | - <i>kari</i> | 'inhabitants of iti' |

g. *tsh pi* -*kari* 'inhabitants of champi'

h. *bosõ* -*kari* 'inhabitants of boson'

i. *pul du:* -*kari* 'inhabitants of pul du:'

(20) *h tha tsula bhura kari du*

h tha tsula -bhura -kari du

there she-goat -herd -PL COP

'There is a goat-merchant.'

(21) *ga ja dhabakata manehe ma*

ga -ja dhaba -ka-ta man -e he ma

village-GEN seniors-PL-AD respect-INF do need.

'One should respect the seniors of the village'

d. Reduplication

Abstract noun and material noun do not take any marker. However, in colloquial form for plural sense the system of reduplication is used. During the reduplication, the word final vowel changes into high front vowel in the geminated word. Reduplication in other cases do not refer to plural markers.

(22) *kh khai ekko lha*

kh -khai ekko lha - ø

mater RDP more talk-IMP

'Talk more.'

(23) *phusaphisi ekko iu*

phusa -phisi ekko i -u

air -RDP more tsome -NPST1PL/2/3

'It is airy.'

(24) *lukhulakhi ekko du*

lukhu -lakhi ekko du

water -RDP more COP

'There is sufficient water.'

In KN reduplication occurs only in monosyllabic words. Sentences (25), (26), (27) convey the same meaning as in (22), (23), (24) in Pahari, e. g.

(25) *kh khi ekko lha*

kh -khi ekko lha -ø

thing -RDP more talk -IMP

'Talk more.'

(26) *ph phi: ekko w i*

ph -phi: ekko w -i

air -RDP more tsome -1NPST

'It is airy.'

(27) *l :li: ekko du*

l : -li: ekko du

Water -RDP more COP

'There is sufficient water.'

6.1.3 Case

a. <- \emptyset >

Pahari has an ergative-absolutive type of case marking. In (28) the subject of intransitive verb /*di*/ is not marked, and is represented as /*dzi*- \emptyset /, in the (ABS) case. The same is true for example (29).

(28) *dzi di ni*

dzi- \emptyset *di* - -*ni*

I-ABS sleep -A-1PST

'I slept.'

(29) *dzi kho:ni*

dzi- \emptyset *kho* -:- *ni*

I-ABS tsry -A-1PST

'I wept.'

b. Pro- drop agent

This is a special feature found in Pahari. The first person singular subject of transitive verb drops the pronoun subject known as *pro drop*. In sentence (30), *ni* 'eat' and (31) *pa* 'plough' are transitive verbs. These verbs cause the subject (*dzi*) to drop and the remaining case marker <-*na*> dominates the sentence. This occurs only in agentive sentences with a volitional pronoun, as pointed by Payne (1999:49).

(30) *na dza ni ni*

na	dza	ni	-	-ni
PRO DROP-ERG	rice	eat	-A	-1PST

'I ate rice.'

(31) *na ku:na bu palani*

na	ku:	-na	bu	pala	-ni
PRO DROP	spade	-ERG	field	dig	-1PST

'I plough the field.'

c. <-na>

This marker is applied in ergative, instrumental and agentive cases.

(i). Ergative (All are different types or functions of ergativity?)

This is a marked case. In Pahari <-na>, ergative marker is used in a subject with a transitive verb (Agentive). Sentences (32, 33) are examples of ergative case. Sentence (34) is from Tamang, the neighbouring language to Pahari, which has similar ergative marking.

(32) *h na tsithi tso:ri*

h	-na	tsithi	tso	-:	-ri
3	-ERG	letter	write	-A	-3PST

'S/he wrote a letter.'

(33) *dzana dza ne*

dza-na dza ne -
 we-ERG rice eat -1NPST

'We eat rice.'

(34) *ai kan tsa dzi* (Tamang)

a - i kan tsa -dzi
 I -ERG rice eat -PST

'I ate rice.'

(ii) Instrumental

Instrumental/force and ablative case also take */-na/* suffix. In sentence (35) */-na/* is used as an instrument, in (36) for force, and in (37) for ablative case. The feature also occurs in Newar (NB). Joshi (1984:70) defines this category of structures as A-I-AB (Agent-Instrument-Ablative) case implying syncretic uses of a case marker.

(35) *na lobo-na dze su*

na lobo -na dze su -
 PRO DROP-ERG tool -INS work move -1NPST

'I work with the tools.'

(iii) Force

Natural phenomena like lightening, sun, rain and man-made things like tsar and rockets can function in the role called force. This is the role of things that are considered to initiate actions, such as hitting, running or driving, but that, unlike animals and humans, have no volition (Traugott and Pratt 1985:192)

(36) *nhja:na w so go : ri*

nhja:	-na	w so	go	- :	-ri
sun	-ERG	cloth	dry	-A	-3PST

'The sun dried the cloth.'

(iv) Ablative

(37) *Simana muga kunu*

sima	-na	muga	kun	-u
Tree	-ERG	monkey	down	-3PST

'The monkey fell down from a tree.'

(38) a. *roga gou.*

rog	-na	go	-u
disease-ERG		hot	-3PST

'Somebody got sitsk.'

d. Dative <-da/-ta/-jata>

These markers are used for both dative (DAT) (40) and anti-dative (AD) (41) cases which occur in most of the TB languages. Voiceless unaspirated /t/ changes into voiced unaspirated /d/ before voiced /n/, which is presented as (40):

(39) t d/___n.

(40) *nuda dheba haja*

nu	-da	dheba	haja	- ø
1	-DAT	money	bring	-IMP

'Give me the money.'

(41) *nuda h na da:ri*

nu	-da	h	-na	da	-:	-ri
1	-AD	3SG-ERG		hit	-A	-3PST

'S/he hit me.'

(42) *ramna h jata da:ri*

Ram	-na	h	-yata	da	-:	-ri
Ram	-ERG	3SG	-AD	hit	-A	-3PST

'Ram hit him.'

<-ta> changes into <-to> (43) is a case of vowel lowering.

(43) *thuna thuto djæmire*

thu	-na	thu	-to	da	-e	mire
RFLX	-ERG	RFLX	-AD	hit	-INF	NEG

'Do not hit yourself.'

e. Allative <-tha>

<-tha> 'place' marks the allative case. In Kathmandu Newar, it is used with human possession marker <-ke> and location <-tha>. In classical Newar (henceforth, KN) only locative was used (Jorgensen 1941:21). In (44 and 45) <-tha> functions as a possessive case. (46) is an example of allative case marked by an allative marker.

(44) *nutha dheba du*

nu	-tha	dheba	du
I	-LOC	money	COP

'I have money.'

(45) *tsh tha tsibi du?*

tsh	-tha	tsibi	du
You	-LOC	knife	COP

'Do you have a knife?'

(46) *m n tha laiu*

m n	-tha	la	-i	-u
brother-LOC		come	-INF	-3PST

'Someone came to brother.'

f. Associative <-nau (> na) >

The associative case marker in the language is <-nau> which can be reduplicated and used with <-na> in compulsive or obligatory sentences like (47 & 48). A vocative type of sentence such as (49) has <-na> without <-nau>. This suggests that <-nau> is not a true associative marker.

(47) *nuna nau nau go*

nu	-na	nau	nau	go	-ø
1	-together	together	RDP	go	-IMP

'Let us go together. (You must go with me).'

(48) *tshiri nau nau dzuja*

tshiri	nau	nau	dzu	-ja
1 (INC)	together	DUP	walk	-PST

'We moved hand in hand.'

(49) (nuna) go

nu	-na	go	-ø
1	-together	go	-IMP.

'Let us go.'

g. Locative <-ko> and <- :>

<-ko> and <- :> 'in / at' mark the location in Pahari. <-ko> is the common locative marker and the vowel-ending words take <- :> marker. The mature speakers use <-ga> in words initials with /b and ch/, like:

(50) a. /bu-ga/ > /bu-a/ (c-deletion)

> /bu-a:/ (Compensatory lengthening)

> /bu- :/ (vowel raising)

b. /tsh -ga/ > /tsh -a/ (c-deletion)

> /tsh -a:/ (compensatory lengthening)

> /tsh - :/ (vowel raising)

> /tsh- / (denasalization)

> /tshj- :/ (Vowel raising).

It shows <-ko> and <-ga> are allomorphs which later changed into <-ko> and <-go>ga> under different processes (50 b).

(51) m n dza simako dzhau

m n	-dza	sima	-ko	dzha	-u
brother-PL	tree	-LOC		climb	-PST

'The brothers climbed the tree.'

In KN <-e> and <-i> are the locative markers. <-i> is marked in words which end with high vowels, elsewhere <-i> is used as a locative marker.

(52) *Sw j mbhui bh g van du*

Sw j mbhu -i bh g van du

Soyambhu -LOC god COP

'The God is at Swoyambhu.'

(53) *thimii haku bhala du*

thimi -i haku bhala du

thimi -LOC black pot COP

'One can find black pottery in Thimi.'

(54) *khw p nyat p u deg : du*

khw p -e nya -t p u deg : du

Bhaktapur -LOC five -CF roof temple COP

'There is a five storied temple (great temple) in Bhaktapur.'

h. Possessive <-ja> and <-ø>

<-ja> and <-ø> are genitive /possessive markers. This is the only case marker that does not have a direct relation with the verb.

<-ja> is the general possessive marker. In the case of first person singular pronoun, it is not marked.

(55) *h ya bu tapa:.*

h -ya bu tapa -:

3 -POS field far -STAT

'His /her land is far away (from the point, they are talking).'

(56) *nu ma tshe : mur :*

nu - \emptyset ma tshe - : mu -r :
my - \emptyset mother house -LOC NEG -COP

'My mother is not at home.'

The case morphemes can be displayed.

Table: 6. 2 comparative case (morpheme) suffixes in Pahari and KN

Morpheme in Pahari	Morpheme in KN	Case
- \emptyset	- \emptyset	Absolutive
- <i>na</i>	-~ nasal vowel	Ergative/ Ablative / Instrumental
- <i>ta/da/-jata</i>	<i>t /jat</i>	Dative/ antidative
- <i>tha</i>	- <i>thæ</i>	Allative
- <i>na(u)</i>	- <i>lise/nap</i>	Associative
- \emptyset , - <i>ja</i>	- \emptyset , - <i>ja, ke</i>	Genitive/possession
- <i>ko/ga/ :</i>	- <i>e/i</i>	Locative

Table 6.2 gives comparative case suffixes in Pahari and KN. It may be noted that while KN associative and genitive case markers <-*lise/nap*> and <-*ke*> are restricted to animate nouns, Pahari does not distinguish between animate and inanimate nouns. In KN, words ending in high vowels are marked with locatives <-*e/i*>, while <-*ga*> in Pahari can be reduced to <-> as a locative morpheme.

6.2 Noun derivations

This section deals with derivational morphology of Pahari nominals, KN nominal derivatives are also discussed to show their contrastive uses.

6.2.1 Nominalization

It is a process that derives nouns from root or stems belonging to some other category. An affix which triggers such a change is referred to as nominalizer (Regmi 2007: 176). In Pahari language there are three nominalizing markers: <-gu>, <mha> and *vowel length*<:->, whereas in KN, they are: <-gu>, <mha> and <-p :>.

a. <-gu>

It is a tonnetstive used in four ways: (i) as a classifier, (ii) as a determinant, (iii) as a nominalizer, and (iv) as an agreement marker.

<-gu> is an inanimate or animate marker. In sentence (57) *muga* 'monkey' is animate but has lower status in the speech community, so it is treated as inanimate. TV (Television) in (58) is an inanimate machinery item.

(57) *Simana kunuu muga*

sima-na kunu -(g)u muga

Tree- ABL fall -DET monkey

'The monkey that fell from the tree.'

(58) *bāl̥jæ iu TV gh ra:?*

bāl̥jæ i -(g)u TV gh ra:

nice come -DET TV which PART

'Which is the TV with a clear picture?'

b. <-mha>

It is the animate marker. *muntshe* 'person' in (59), *h* '3' in (60) and *bāljæ dze so:mha* 'the good field worker' (61) are animates.

(59) *sunth dza neumha muntshe laumulja*

sunth dza ne -u -mha muntshe la -u mu -lja
morning rice eat -NML -CF man come-NOM NEG -come

'The man who ate rice in the morning did not come.'

(60) *nura bo biumha h : khiu*

nu -ra bo bi -u -mha h : khiu
1 -DAT scold give NML-CF 3DIST COP

'S/he is the man who scolded me.'

(61) *bua bāljæ dze so:mh mijani*

bu -(g)a bāljæ dze sō: -mha mi -ja ni
field -LOTS nice work move -NML NEG -come PART

'A good laborer in the field is yet to come.'

(62) *bo:lamh sipahi kh i mur :ni*

bo:la: -mha sipahi kh -i mu -r : ni
strong-NML soldier see -INF NEG -COP PART

'A strong soldier is yet to be seen.'

c. Vowel length

It is not distinctive. It is a remnant of morphophonemically reduced marker. In (63) ' *a:u kudzu* ' is the reduced form of ' *a: gu kudzu* ' 'the dog who has bitten'. *tsyaitsa: sa* (64) is the reduced form of *tsaitsa: dumha sa* 'the cow with patches'.

(63) *nura a:u kudzu h : khiu*

nu	-ra	a:	-u	kudzu	h :	khiu:
1	-DAT	bite	-NML	dog	3DIST	COP

'That is the dog that bit me.'

(64) *tsya tsa: sa na tsoeyo.*

tsyaitsa:	sa	-na	tso	-eyo
patched one	cow	-ERG	drive	-NSSTAT

'The cow with patches uses to drive.'

d. <-p :>

In KN, <-gu> and <mha> are used similar to Pahari. <-p :> is used for living plural (65).

(65) *bõ:-p : m nu:-t tso-e then-i:.*

bõ	:-	-p :	m nu: -t	tso	-e	then	-i:
study	-NML-PL	man	-PL	upper	-LOC	reach	-NPST

'The studious persons get higher positions.'

6.2.2 Word formation

Two elements which are both free morphemes and independent roots combine to form a compound (Malla; 1985: 21). Newar compounds can be analyzed in terms of the

constituents, their formal structure and semantic consequences. The format in this subsection has been developed from Malla (1985:21-22). There are two basic types of compound:

a. Endocentric compounds: are those where the meaning of the compound is not different from the meaning of either or both the elements.

(i) Subordinating Type: One element of the compound is a modifier of the other.

(66)

A. Noun + Noun

duru + po (breast+ patsk) = breast

duru + phu (breast+ nipple) = nipple

sono + phu (flower +top) = flower

B. Adjective + Noun

kelkhur + kho (delicate+ radish) = delicate radish

dhau + labdz (big +finger) = thumb

tsha:+ ghasa (hard + meat) = hard meat

g + kha (wild +fowl) =jungle fowl(Gallus gallus)

C. Verbal adjective + Noun

tso + wa (pointed + tooth) = incisors

t + kha (forbidden +fowl) = jungle fowl (Gallus gallus)

(ii) coordinating Type: Both the elements are equally important

(67)

A. Noun + Noun complimentary

k + mudzõ (husband + wife) = couple

dadzu + m n dza (elder brother + younger brother) = Brother-sisters

tša + hi (night + day) = daily

B. Noun + Noun contrastive

mi + lukhu (fire+water) = fire and water

In KN water is kept in first position then comes fire.

l :+mi (water +fire) = water and fire

d h + pih (inside + outside) = in and out

nh rkhe + lumkhe (before + after) = afore and before

b. Exocentric compounds: The resultant meaning of these compounds is different from the meaning of either of the two elements which form the compound.

(68)

(i) Noun + Noun

djo + bokh (temple + pigeon) = idler

tsh + bukh (house + pigeon) = house bird

g + bokh (forest + pigeon) = wild bird

(ii) Adjective + Noun

nhya+tsalu (sun+ rise) = sudden appearance

hakhra + lugu (black + heart) = mean

dhaba + tshe (big + head) = important man.

(Format from Malla 1985:21-22)

6.3 Pronouns

While Jorgenson (1941:29-42), Kansakar (1984:82), Malla (1985:49), Shrestha (2001:31-37) have divided pronouns into five sub classes and Joshi (2003:46-50) and Hale (2006: 38-45) into seven subclasses. Pahari pronouns can be divided into four sub-classes on the bases of the morphological forms and their functions.

Pahari pronouns can be divided into four sub-classes on the bases of the morphological forms and their functions.

6.3.1 Personal pronouns

This pronoun has three sub classes with singular and plural number distinction. First person plural have inclusive and exclusive distinctions. There are no honorific pronouns, as the Pahari people do not recognition differences in social status or social hierarchy.

(69)

	Singular	plural	
		Intslusive	extslusive
First person	dzi	tshiri	dzari
Setsond person	tshi	tshari	
Third person	h	h kari	

6.3.2 Demonstrative pronoun

Demonstrative pronoun can be subdivided into four subclasses on the basis of addressor versus addressee and proximate verses non proximate.

(70)

	Singular	Plural
Addressor proximate	u 'this'	ukari 'these'
Addressee proximate	tsh 'you (S)'	tsh kari 'you (PL)'
Non proximate (addressor)	tsh muntshe 'that man'	tsh kari muntshet 'those men'
Non proximate (addressee)	h 'S/he'	h kari 'they'

6.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

These are of two types:

(71)

a. general	Singular	Plural
i) Human	sula	su-sula
ii) Non human	tsula	tsu-tsula
b. specific		
i) Animate	gh -muntshe-ra	gh -gh -muntshe-ra
ii) Inanimate	gh -ra	gh -gh -ra

Interrogative pronoun with emphatic (EMP) marker is altered into Indefinite pronouns. That is why it is included in interrogative pronoun.

i) Human	su -n -no	su -nu su -n -no
	'who-ERG-EMP'	'who-EMP who-ERG-EMP'
ii) Non-human	tsu -no	tsu -no tsu -no
	'what-ERG'	'what-ERG what-ERG'

6.3.4 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronoun is marked by *thu* and plural is formed by duplication.

(72)

thu:	self	'self'
thu: thu:	self self	'selves'

6.4 Summary

In this chapter we dealt with the nominal morphology in Pahari. First of all we discussed the noun morphology in which we examined the grammatical categories of the noun viz, gender, number, cases. Gender is not grammatical in Pahari. The nouns in Pahari cannot be classified in terms of agreement with verb and adjectives. However, Pahari distinguishes between male and female lexically in a few pairs of words. Number is a grammatical category of nouns in Pahari. There are singular and plural number inflections. Plural is marked with <-t > for general; <-si> marks the specific plural counts for kinship, designation, honoured name, and pronoun. <-dza> is used in non identified kinship.

Pahari is a consistently ergative-absolutive language. Pahari shows aspectual 'split' as in Nepali and Tamang (Paudel:2006).

Pahari presents a rich case system. The nominals in Pahari may be inflected for a number of cases. They are marked in two ways: case clitics and post-positions. Case clitics in Pahari include absolutive, pro-drop, ergative / instrumental / ablative, dative, genitive/possessive,

locative, allative and associative. Pro-drop agent is the special case that differentiates Pahari from Newar apart from case clitics (morphologically bound forms) the postpositions also mark the cases in Pahari.

Pahari has no grammatical gender. We discussed the cases in which morphological and functional morphemes are mentioned.

Pahari shows two types of derivational process: Nominalization and Compounding.

There are four types of pronouns: personal, demonstrative, interrogative and reflexive pronouns. Personal pronoun only in first person includes exclusive and inclusive. Demonstrative pronoun include proximate and non proximate. Proximate and non proximate further include addressor and addressee orientation. Interrogative pronoun covers general and specific. General category includes human and non-human. Specific category includes animate and inanimate.

CHAPTER 7

ADJECTIVES

7.0 Outline

This chapter examines adjectives in Pahari. It consists of four sections. Section 7.1 discusses classification of adjectives in Pahari. In subsection 7.1.1 we discuss simple adjectives. In subsection 7.1.2, we discuss derived adjectives. In Section 7.2 we discuss Numerals. Two types of numerals are discussed. Simple numerals are discussed in 7.2.1. In 7.2.2 Compound Numerals are described. Finally, in 7.3 we summarize the findings of chapter.

7.1 Classification

Sthapit (1978:28) in connection to Newar adjectives writes "Semantically adjectives qualify nouns. Syntactically generally they occur before the noun they qualify (in their attributive function) and after the noun they qualify (in their predicative function) when they function attributively they agree with animate nouns in number and occur with classifiers".

On the basis of use, adjectives in Newar can be used attributively, before the noun head and predicatively, after the noun phrase (Malla 1985:51). So is the case of Pahari. The adjectives mentioned below in (7.1.1.a-c.) are attributive, whereas (7.1.1.d.) is predicative in use.

Adjectives, on the basis of function, are attributive, quantitative and pronominal. On the basis of forms there are two types of derivational adjectives, namely: verbal derivation and nominal derivation.

7.1.1 Functional

It includes attributive, quantitative, pronominal. Demonstrative and Interrogative roots are adjectival in function (Joshi 1984:157).

(1) Adjective of quality

- | | |
|-----------|---------|
| a. purõ | 'old' |
| b. basi | 'stale' |
| c. sirha: | 'red' |

(2) Adjective of quantity

- | | |
|------------|-------------|
| a. ekku | 'many/more' |
| b. bh tsca | 'less' |

Degree is marked by *ekko* 'more' comparative and *t sk* : 'most' superlative.

Verbal

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| a. sa: | 'tasty' | Positive |
| b. ekku sa: | 'more tasty' | Comparative |
| c. tsahõ | sa: 'most tasty' | Superlative |

(a) Attributive

In Pahari no connective is infixed as a nominal marker. (4a-c) Inanimate and (4d, e) animate do not have different markers.

<i>Adjective</i>	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
------------------	-------------	--------------

(4) i. Inanimate

- | | | |
|-----------|-----|------------|
| a. hakhra | leg | black-shoe |
|-----------|-----|------------|

b. pokhrõ	dzha:	a sour shrub (cari amilo)
-----------	-------	---------------------------

c. tsa:la:	suku:	a round mat
------------	-------	-------------

ii. Animate

d. tadza	muntshe	a tall man
----------	---------	------------

e. harami	tsitsma	a naughty boy
-----------	---------	---------------

(b) Quantitative

<i>Adjective</i>	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
------------------	-------------	--------------

(5) Quantity

a. ekko	muntshe	many people
---------	---------	-------------

b. bhatitsa>bhatstsa	dze	a few work
----------------------	-----	------------

(c) Pronominal

The adjective pronoun is followed by a noun. The pronoun modifies the noun

(i) Demonstrative

(6) *hu muntshe lai*

hu	muntshe	la	-i	-u
PRN	N	come	-go	-3PST

'The man came.'

(ii) Interrogative /Indefinite

(7) *sula muntshe iu*

sula muntshe i -u
 Q N come -3PST
 'Who came?'

(iii) Reflexive

(8) *sula muntshena niu hu muntshena pulu:*

sula muntshe -na ni -u hu-na muntshe-na pul -u:
 Q N ERG eat-NML 3SG-ERG man -ERG pay -3NPST
 'The one who eats will pay.'

7.1.2 Formal

Formal adjectives are of two types: verbal and nominal. Both of these are derivational

(a) Verbal

The verbal adjectives behave like verbs. The adjective co-occurs after the noun and before the verb.

(9) *muntshe dhaba nu*

muntshe dhaba nu
 man big be-3PST
 'The men became matured.'

(10) *sono sira: nu*

sono sira: nu
 flower red be-3PST

'The flower became red.'

These forms of adjectives are derived from verb, which works as an adjective.

(11) *kh : ghasa*

kh -: ghasa

prepare -NML meat

'Prepared meat'

(12) *doba:*

do ba:

two path

'Cross road / confluence'

(13) *thobu: dzai*

tsobu -: dzai

husk -NML rice

'husked rice'

(b) Nominal derivatives

In this adjective, noun is converted into adjectives, e.g.

(14) *khobilu*

khobi -lu

tear -ADJ

'the weeper'

(15) *tõgulu*

tõ -gulu

anger -ADJ

'the angry person'

(16) *bāla*

bā -la

shape -ADJ

'the nice one'

7.2 Numerals

The numerals in Pahari are of simple and compound types. The table 7.1 shows the numerals in Pahari.

Table 7.1: Numerals in Pahari

1	thi	21	ni:-thi	41	pi:-thi	61	khui-thi	81	tsoi-thi
2	nis	22	ni:-ni	42	pi:-ni	62	khui-ni	82	tsoi-ni
3	so	23	ni:-so	43	pi:-so	63	khui-so	83	tsoi-so
4	pi	24	ni:-pi	44	pi:-pi	64	khui-pi	84	tsoi-pi
5	o	25	ni:- o	45	pi:- o	65	khui- o	85	tsoi- o
6	khu	26	ni:-khu	46	pi:-khu	66	khui-khu	86	tsoi-khu

7	nhja	27	ni:-nhja	47	pi:-nhja	67	khui-nhja	87	tsoi-nhja
8	tse	28	ni:-tse	48	pi:-tse	68	khui-tse	88	tsoi-tse
9	gu	29	ni:-gu	49	pi:-gu	69	khui-gu	89	tsoi-gu
10	dz	30	Sui	50	oi	70	nhoi	90	gui
11	dz -thi	31	sui-thi	51	oi-thi	71	nhoi-thi	91	gui-thi
12	dz -ni	32	sui-ni	52	oi-ni	72	nhoi-ni	92	gui-ni
13	dz -so	33	sui-so	53	oi-so	73	nhoi-so	93	gui-so
14	dz -pi	34	sui-pi	54	oi-pi	74	nhoi-pi	94	gui-pi
15	dz - o	35	sui- o	55	oi- o	75	nhoi- o	95	gui- o
16	dz -khu	36	sui-khu	56	oi-khu	76	nhoi-khu	96	gui-khu
17	dz - nhja	37	sui-nhja	57	oi-nhja	77	nhoi-nhja	97	gui-nhja
18	dz -tse	38	sui-tse	58	oi-tse	78	nhoi-tse	98	gui-tse
19	dz -gu	39	sui-gu	59	oi-gu	79	nhoi-gu	99	gui-gu
20	ni:	40	pi:	60	khui	80	tsoi	100	s tstshi

7.2.1 Simple numerals

One to ten is simple cardinals. 10 and its resultant numbers are simple numerals.

(17)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	thi	nis	so	pi	o	khu	nhja	tse	gu	dz

a. Resultants of the cardinals

10 and its resultant numbers are simple numerals. Final <-i> is the marker of multiplier.

Table 7.2: Products of Numeral in Pahari

<i>Cardinals</i>		<i>Multiplier</i>		<i>Product</i>	
1	thi	x	i	=	dz
2	nis	x	i	=	ni:
3	so	x	i	=	sui
4	pi	x	i	=	pi:
5	o	x	i	=	oi
6	khu	x	i	=	khui
7	nhja	x	i	=	nhoi
8	tse	x	i	=	tsoi
9	gu	x	i	=	gui

b. Morphophonemics of cardinals

/o/ after fricative /s/ changes into /u/ before assimilating with /i/. It can be represented as in (15)

(18) o u /_----- i

The process can be shown through the example.

(19) so - i > sui [vowel raising]

three - tens thirty

Three tens become thirty.

The low front vowel /a/ after a breathy/ aspirated consonant glide cluster is changed into a mid back vowel /o/ when followed by a high front vowel /i/, as in (17).

(20) a o /_----- i

nhja - i nhoi [vowel raising]

seven - tens seventy

Seven tens become seventy.

Mid front vowel after affricative sound alters into mid back vowel before assimilating with high front vowel as in (21). The process is known as ablauting or vowel gradation (Crystal 2003:207).

(21) e o /_----- i

tse - i tsoi [ablauting]

eight - tens eighty

Eight tens become eighty.

7.2.2 Compound numerals

In compound numeral two numerals are added and a productive numeral is obtained. Eleven and greater numbers are produced through this process. The compound numbers from 10 to 19 with the /<n - ~ ->, 20 to 29 & 40 to 49 with <i - :-> vowel length and 30 to 99 with /-i-/marker in between two numerals are added as a connective. These processes can be formulized as in (18), (19), & (20).

(22) 10 -19 + /-~~/ tens

dzi	-~-	-	dz	'ten'
dzi	-~-	thi	dz -thi	'eleven'
dzi	-~-	nis	dz -ni	'twelve'
dzi	-~-	so	dz -so	'thirteen'
dzi	-~-	pi	dz -pi	'fourteen'
dzi	-~-	o	dz - o	'fifteen'
dzi	-~-	khu	dz -khu	'sixteen'
dzi	-~-	nhja	dz -nhja	'seventeen'
dzi	-~-	tse	dz -tse	'eighteen'
dzi	-~-	gu	dz -gu	'nineteen'

(23) a) 20 -29 + <(i)-:-> twenties

ni	-:-	-	ni:	'twenty'
ni	-:-	tshi	ni:-tshi	'twenty-one'
ni	-:-	nis	ni:-ni	'twenty-two'
ni	-:-	so	ni:-so	'twenty-three'
ni	-:-	pi	ni:-pi	'twenty-four'
ni	-:-	o	ni:- o	'twenty-five'
ni	-:-	khu	ni:-khu	'twenty-six'
ni	-:-	nhja	ni:-nhja	'twenty-seven'
ni	-:-	tse	ni:-tse	'twenty-eight'

ni	-:-	gu	ni:-gu	'twenty-nine'
----	-----	----	--------	---------------

b) 40 -49 + <(i)-:-> forties

pi	-:-	-	pi:	'forty'
----	-----	---	-----	---------

pi	-:-	tshi	pi:-tshi	'forty-one'
----	-----	------	----------	-------------

pi	-:-	nis	pi:-ni	'forty-two'
----	-----	-----	--------	-------------

pi	-:-	so	pi:-so	'forty-three'
----	-----	----	--------	---------------

pi	-:-	pi	pi:-pi	'forty-four'
----	-----	----	--------	--------------

pi	-:-	o	pi:- o	'forty-five'
----	-----	---	--------	--------------

pi	-:-	khu	pi:-khu	'forty-six'
----	-----	-----	---------	-------------

pi	-:-	nhja	pi:-nhja	'forty-seven'
----	-----	------	----------	---------------

pi	-:-	tse	pi:-tse	'forty-eight'
----	-----	-----	---------	---------------

pi	-:-	gu	pi:-gu	'forty-nine'
----	-----	----	--------	--------------

(24) 30 - 99 + <-i-> thirties to nineties

so	-i-	-	sui	'thirty'
----	-----	---	-----	----------

so	-i-	tshi	sui-tshi	'thirty-one'
----	-----	------	----------	--------------

o	-i-	tshi	oi-tshi	'fifty-one'
---	-----	------	---------	-------------

khu	-i-	tshi	khui-tshi	'sixty-one'
-----	-----	------	-----------	-------------

nhja	-i-	tshi	nhoi-tshi	'seventy-one'
------	-----	------	-----------	---------------

tse	-i-	tshi	tsoi-tshi	'eighty-one'
-----	-----	------	-----------	--------------

gu	-i-	tshi	gui-tshi	'ninety-one'
----	-----	------	----------	--------------

7.3 Summary

Pahari adjectives are of functional and formal types. The attributive, quantitative, pronominal are the functional adjectives whereas nominal and verbal are derivational adjectives.

The numerals in Pahari are of simple and compound types: one to ten are simple cardinals. Ten and its resultant numbers are simple numerals. <-i> is the marker of multiplier. In compound numerals two numerals are added and productive numeral is obtained. Eleven and greater numbers are produced through this process. The compound numbers from 10 to 19 with the <-->, 20 to 29 / 40 to 49 with <:-> vowel length and 30 to 99 with <-i> marker in between two numerals are added as a connective.

CHAPTER 8

VERB MORPHOLOGY

8.0 Outline

This chapter examines the morphological categories of Pahari verbs. We begin this chapter with a discussion of verb stems in section 8.1. Section 8.2 briefly discusses verb inflection systems. Section 8.3 deals with tense aspect forms in the language. In section 8.4 we discuss negativization in Pahari verbs. In section 8.5 we discuss derivationals in Pahari verbs. In section 8.6 we discuss the role of auxiliary verbs. In section 8.7 we also discuss modality in Pahari verbs. In this section we discuss derivationals, and, finally, section 8.8 summarizes the main findings of this chapter.

8.1 Verb stems

The Pahari verbs can be classified into four major groups / classes in terms of their alternations that take epenthesis [in Sanskrit it is known as *Agam* (A)] prior to suffixation. Class I consist of s/SH of high front vowel ending (HF) *i*. Class II / high back vowel ending (HB): consist of s/SH of four stem vowels *u*, *ū*, *a* & *o*. Class III / mixed ending (MX): consists of s/SH of a stem vowel *e* and three consonants: *l*, *n*, and *r*. Class IV / Consonant ending (C): consists of s/SH of only stem that ends with consonant *k*.

(1) *Table 8.1: Verb stems*

Group	Class (C)	Stem final (SF)	Root (R)	Gloss (G)
HF ending	I	i	bi	give
HB ending	II	u	su	sew
		o	go	lock

			tw	put off
		a	dzha	climb
MX ending	III	e	he	say
		n ²¹	nhan	call
		l	sil	clean
		t ²²	mhet	play
C ending	IV	k	pulk	patch

Traditionally, there are 10 types of verbs on the basis of their endings and stem vowels (bi 'give', bu 'born', tw 'put off', dzha 'climb' go 'lock', he 'say', nhan 'call' mhet 'play' and pulk 'patch'). These verbs can be organized into four classes / groups, on the basis of the epenthetic vowels (A) (see table 8.2), namely:

- a) Class I / HF ending, that takes <-u-> as an infix,
- b) Class II / HB ending takes vowel length <-:-> as an infix,
- c) Class III / MX ending takes <- -> as an infix, and
- d) Class IV/ C ending takes <-a-> as an infix.

(2) *Table 8.2: Paradigm of Past verbs in Pahari*

	CI bi 'give'	CII'sew'	CIII'say'	CIV'patch'
TENSE	V -A -SFX	V -A -SFX	V -A -SFX	V -A-SFX
1SG.PST	bi -u -ni	su -:- -ni	he - -ni	pulk -a -ni
1RPST	-u - i	-:- - i	- - i	-a - i
2SG.PST	-u -na	-:- -na	- -na	-a -na

²¹ is its allomorph. All the vowel ending roots have nasal contrasts.

²² t > r in intervocalic position. This is a rare and disappearing verb. This type of verb has three final C's in Kathmandu Newar: /mhet/ 'play', /sat/ 'call' and /tot/ 'leave'.

1/2PL.PST	-u -r u	-: -r u	- -r u	-a -r u
3RPST	-u -ri	-: -ri	- -ri	-a -ri
3PST	-u	-u	-u	-u

8.2 Verb inflection systems

Pahari verbs inflect for tense, number and person, which differs from Kathmandu Newar (KN). KN inflects for tense, that is past and non past and person, that is conjunct (Self(s)) and Disjunct (Non Self (NS)). Pahari is not consistent in verb inflections. It has a simple past (PST) and remote past (RPST) only in the 1st singular, marked by <- i>. In Past inflection, it takes <-ni> suffix for first person singular (1SG), <-na>, for second person singular (2SG), <-r u>, for first person and second person plural (1/2PL), and <-ri> for remote past third person singular and plural (3RPST) and for third person singular and plural simple past (3PST). In all classes and forms, these verbs take suffixes as mentioned in the concerned class followed by the insertion of the vowels as an epenthesis (A). In Non-Past (NPST), it inflects for 1SG with a suffix <- > for all classes of verb categories; and 1PL/2/3(henceforth N1SG.NPST) takes <-u> in class I, <-:> in class II, <- > in class III, and <-a> in class IV. The structure of Pahari verb inflection is *v+epenthesis (A) + inflectional suffix*. Pahari inflection system is presented in an accumulated form in Table : 8.3.

(3) *Table 8.3: Paradigm of Pahari verb inflection system*

	CI bi 'give'	CII'sew'	CIII'say'	CIV'patch'
TENSE	V -A -SFX	V -A -SFX	V-A-SFX	V -A-SFX
1SG.PST	bi -u -ni	su -: -ni	he - -ni	pulk -a -ni
1RPST	-u - i	-: - i	- - i	-a - i
2SG.PST	-u -na	-: -na	- -na	-a -na
1/2PL.PST	-u -r u	-: -r u	- -r u	-a -r u

3RPST	-u -ri	-: -ri	- -ri	-a -ri
3PST	-u	-u	-u	-u
1SG.NPST	-	-	-	-
N1SG.NPST	-u:	-:	- :	-a:

8.2.1 Finite verbs

Finite verb phrases have tense distinction (Quirk and Greenbaum 1976: 38). In Pahari, finite verb reveals completion of an action.

- (1) *na tshe- laja-ni*

na tshe - laja -ni
 1S house -LOC come -1SG.PST
 'I came home.'

- (2) *na tshe diga*

na tshe di -ga -
 1S house make -K -1SG.NPST
 'I build a house.'

Finite verb phrases occur as the verb element of a clause. There is person, number concord between the subject and the finite verb. Concord is overt with the verb suffix.

- (3) *na wa tsul*

na wa tsul -
 1SG tooth clean -1SG.NPST
 'I brush my teeth.'

(4) *h kari læ*

h -kari læ -

3 -PL come -3PST

'They returned home'

A final verb or auxiliary inflected for tense is a finite verb in Newar, and other verb in such a string is considered non-finite. The finite verbs normally indicate past and non-past, which actually is a contrast between perfective and future. A verb can be both past and perfective, while the non-past category is limited to the future use (Kansakar 1994: 82).

Pahari being a language of Newarish subgroup shares these characteristics.

Pahari has no conjunct and disjunct agreement system. It has a mixed type of agreement, or a partial agreement for person and number agreement.

a. Past

In Pahari there are two types of past: simple past and remote past. This occurs only with the 1st singular, which is marked by <-i>. Remote past (RPT) means action occurs a day before the time of speech. <-ni> is the past marker for first person past (1PST). In example (1) we have verb with SF /i/, that takes suffix <-ni> for 1PST following the insertion of <-u->. /bi/ 'give' is a transitive verb, which makes the Agent *ji* 'I' drop and Agentive suffix <-na> as an independent Agent. Hence the process of Agent drop is called Pro-drop (pronoun drop) (Shrestha and Tamang 2005:32).

(5) *na bho: biuni*

na bho: bi -u -ni

1 book give -A -1PST

'I gave a book.'

In example (5-14) <-ni> as a 1SG.PST suffix is followed by the insertion of vowel length (-:-) as an A [in Sentence (5-9), <- :-> in (10-13), and <-a-> in (14). /dzha-/ (8)] is intransitive verb, so the subject pronoun /dzi/ remains as default.

(6) *na w so suuni*

na w so su -: -ni

1S cloth sew -A -1SG.PST

'I sewed the cloth.'

(7) *na w so tw ni*

na w so tw -: -ni

1S cloth take off -A -1SG.PST

'I took off clothes.'

(8) *dzi dhine dzhaani*

dzi dhine dzha -: -ni

1S upward climb -A -1SG.PST

'I went upward.'

(9) *na lokha go:ni*

na lokha go -: -ni

1S door lock -A -1SG.PST

'I locked the door.'

(10) *na k tha he ni*

na k tha he - : -ni

1 story tell -A -1SG.PST

I narrated a story.

(11) *na th l sil ni*

na th l sil - : -ni

1S utensils rinse -A -1SG.PST

'I washed the utensils.'

(12) *na nanijat nhan ni*

na nani -jat nhan - : -ni

1 younger sister -AD call -A -1SG.PST

I called younger sister.

(13) *dzi mher ni*

dzi mher - : -ni

1 play -A -1SG.PST

'I played.'

(14) *na w so pulkani*

na w so pulk -a -ni

1S cloth patch -A -1SG.PST

'I patched up the clothes.'

In sentences (15-17) <- i> suffix reports that action occurred 24 hours prior to speech time.

(15) *na lithi ho: ya pi i*

na li -thi ho: ya pi - i

1 month-one ago paddy plant-RPST

'I planted paddy a month back.'

(16) *na midzi dza ni i*

na midzi dza ni - i

1 yesterday rice eat -RPST

'I ate rice yesterday.'

(17) *dzi midzi tshe læ i*

dzi midzi tshe - læ - i

1 yesterday house -LOC go -RPST

'I went home yesterday'

<-na>, for 2s, is used followed by the insertion of <-u> in (18), <-:-> in (19-22), <- :-> in (23-26) and <-a-> in (27). In Intransitive verb 2S subject becomes / tshi /, e.g. /tshi mher- :-na/ 'you played', elsewhere it is <tshã>. It is the result of morphophonemic change. The process can be presented as follows /tshi-na/ > /tsh -a/ (nasalization / progressive assimilation) > /tsh y-a/ (insertion of glide) > /tshã/ (deglidation).

(18) *tshã bho: biuna*

tshã bho: bi -u -na

2S (-ERG) book give -A -2SG.PST

'you (S) gave a book.'

(19) *tshã w so suuna*

tshã	w so	su	-:	-na
2S (-ERG)	cloth	sew	-A	-2SG.PST

'You (S) sewed the cloth.'

(20) *tshã w so tw na*

tshã	w so	tw	-:	-na
2S (-ERG)	cloth	take off-A		-2SG.PST

'You (s) took off the clothes.'

(21) *tshi dhine dzhaana*

tshi	dhine	dzha	-:	-na
2SG	upward	climb	-A	-2SG.PST

'You (s) went upward.'

(22) *tshã lokha go:na*

tshã	lokha	go	-:	-na
2SG (-ERG)	door	lock	-A	-2SG.PST

You (s) locked the door.

(23) *tshã k tha he na*

tshã	k tha	he	- :	-na
2SG (-ERG)	story	tell	-A	-2SG.PST

'You(s) narrated a story.'

(24) *tshã th l sil na*

tshã	th l	sil	- :	-na
2SG (-ERG)	utensils	rinse	-A	-2SG.PST

'You washed the utensils.'

(25) *tshã nanijat nhan na*

tshã	nani	-jat	nhan	- :	-na
2SG (-ERG)	sister	-AD	call	- A	-2SG.PST

'You(s) called the sister.'

(26) *tshi mher na*

tshi	mher	- :	-na
2SG	play	-A	-2SG.PST

'You(s) played.'

Intransitive verbs / dzha, mher / (21, 26) do not take ergative marker for its Agent /tshi/ 'you'.

(27) *tshã w so pulkana*

tshã	w so	pulk	-a	-na
2SG (-ERG)	cloth	patch	-A	-2SG.PST

'You(s) patched up the clothes.'

<-r u>, suffix is attached to the verb for first person and second person plural (1/2PL) inflection with insertion of A [<-u-> in class I (28), <-:-> in class II (29-32), <- :-> in class III (33-36) and <-a-> in class IV (37)].

(28) *dza/ tshana bho: biur u*

dza / tsha -na bho: bi -u -r u

1/2PL -ERG book give -A -1/2PL. PST

'We/you (PL) gave a book.'

(29) *dza/ tshana w so suur u*

dza / tsha -na w so su -: -r u

1/2PL -ERG cloth sew -A -1/2PL. PST

'We/you (PL) sewed the cloth.'

(30) *dza/ tshana w so tw r u*

dza/ tsha -na w so tw -: -r u

1/2PL -ERG cloth take off-A -1/2PL. PST

'We/you (PL) took off the clothes.'

(31) *dza/ tshari dhine dzhaar u*

dza / tshari dhine dzha -: -r u

1/2PL upward climb -A -1/2PL. PST

'We/you (PL) went upward.'

(32) *dza/ tshana lokha go:r u*

dza/ tsha-na lokha go -: -r u

1/2PL -ERG door lock -A -1/2PL. PST

'We/you (PL) locked the door.'

(33) *dza / tshana k tha he r u*

dza / tsha -na k tha he - : - r u

1/2PL -ERG story tell -A -1/2PL. PST

'We/you (PL) narrated a story.'

(34) *dza / tshna th l sil r u*

dza / tsh -na th l sil - : - r u

1/2PL -ERG utensils rinse -A -1/2PL. PST

We/you (PL) washed the utensils.

(35) *dza / tshana nanijat nhan r u*

dza / tsh -na nani -jat nhan- : -r u

1/2PL -ERG younger sister-AD call -A -1/2PL. PST

'We/You (PL) called younger sister.'

(36) *dza / tshana mher r u*

dza / tsh-na mher - : - r u

1/2PL -ERG play -A -1/2PL. PST

'We/You (PL) played.'

(37) *dza / tshna w so pulkar u*

dza / tsh -na w so pulk -a - r u

1/2PL -ERG cloth patch -A -1/2PL. PST

'You(S) patched up the clothes.'

<-ri> suffix is attached in the verbs for third person singular and plural (3) inflection with insertion of epenthesis <-u-> in class I (38), <-:-> in class II (39-42), <- :-> in class III (43-46) and <-a-> class IV (47).

(38) *hu/hukana bho: biuri*

hu/huka	-na	bho:	bi	-u	-ri
3SG/PL	-ERG	book	give	-A	-3PST

'S/he/they gave a book.'

(39) *hu/hukana w so suuri*

hu/huka	-na	w so	su	-:-	-ri
3SG/PL	-ERG	cloth	sew	-A	-3PST

'S/he/they sewed the clothes.'

(40) *hu/hukana w so tw ri*

hu/huka	-na	w so	tw	-:-	-ri
3SG/PL	-ERG	cloth	take off	-A	-3PST

'S/he/they took off the clothes.'

(41) *hu/kari dhine dzhaari*

hu/kari	dhine	dzha	-:-	-ri
3SG/PL	upward	climb	-A	-3PST

'S/he/they went upward.'

(42) *hu/kana lokha go:ri*

hu/ka	-na	lokha	go	-:-	-ri
3SG/PL	-ERG	door	lock	-A	-3PST

'S/he/they locked the door.'

(43) *hu/kana k tha he ri*

hu/ka -na k tha he - : -ri

3S/PL -ERG story tell -A -3PST

'S/he/they narrated a story.'

(44) *hu/kana th l sil ri*

hu/ka -na th l sil - : -ri

3S/PL -ERG utensils rinse -A -3PST

'S/he/they washed the utensils.'

(45) *hu/kana nanijat nhan ri*

hu/ka -na nani -jat nhan - : -ri

3S/PL -ERG younger sister -AD call -A -3PST

'S/he/they called younger sister.'

(46) *hu/kana mher ri*

hu/ka -na mher - : -ri

3S/PL -ERG play -A -3PST

'S/he/they (PL) played.'

(47) *hu/kana w so pulkari*

hu/ka -na w so pulk -a -ri

3S/PL -ERG cloth patch -A -3PST

'S/he/they patched up the clothes.'

Simple past

(48) *mohan dzena tordan(u)*

Mohan dze -na torda -n(u)

Mohan job -ERG leave -PST

'Mohan left the job.'

b. Non Past

<- >, <-u>, <-: >, <- : >, <-a> are the non-past marker suffixes. In examples (49-55), all the classes / groups of verbs take a single suffix <- > (v-) for 1s. This is a simplification of the verb inflection system.

(49) *na bho: bi*

na bho: bi -

1SG book give -1SG.NPST

'I will/give a book.'

(50) *na leg tw*

na leg tw -

1SG shoes take off -1SG.NPST

'I will/take off the shoes.'

(51) *dzi simako dzha*

dzi sima -ko dzha -

1SG tree -LOC climb -1SG.NPST

'I will/climb the tree.'

(52) *na lokha go*

na lokha go -

1SG door lock -1SG.NPST

'I will/lock up the door.'

(53) *na th l sil*

na th l sil -

1SG utensils rinse -1SG.NPST

'I will/wash the utensils.'

(54) *na bh kundo mher*

na bh kundo mher -

1SG ball play -SG.NPST

'I will/play a ball.'

/mher/ 'play' transitive verb functions as intransitive since Pahari has no other word for a game, as in (13) *ji mher- :-ni* 'I played a game'.

(55) *na w so pulka*

na w so pulk -a -

1SG cloth patch up -A -1SG.NPST

'I will/patch up the clothes.'

Except 1SNPST (as in 49-55) rest of the persons and numbers are suffixed with a group characteristics, Class I (56) with <-u> (*v+u*), class II (57-60) with <-:> (*v+:*), class III (61-64) with <- :> (*v+ :*) and class IV (65) with <-a :> (*v+a :*).

(56) *dza / tshana / h / kana bho: biu*

dza / tsha -na / h / ka -na bho: bi -u

1PL/2PL -ERG /3 -ERG book give -N1SG. NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will/give a book.'

(57) *dza / tshana / h / kana w so suu*

dza / tsha -na / h / ka-na w so su -:

1PL / 2PL -ERG /3 -ERG cloth sew -N1SG. NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will/sew the clothes.'

(58) *dza / tshana / h / kana leg tw*

dza / tsha -na / h / ka-na leg tw -:

1PL/2PL-ERG /3 -ERG shoes take off - N1SG. NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / take off the shoes.'

(59) *dza / tshana / hu / hukana simako dzhaa*

dza / tsh -na / hu/huka-na sima -ko jha -:

1PL/2PL-ERG /3 -ERG tree -LOC climb - N1SG. NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / climb the trees.'

(60) *dza / tshna / hu / hukana lokha go:*

dza / tsh -na / hu / huka-na lokha go -:

1PL/2PL -ERG /3 -ERG door lock - N1SG NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / lock the door.'

- (61) *dza / tshana / hu / hukana k tha he*

dza / tsh-na / hu / huka-na k tha he - :

1PL/2PL-ERG /3 -ERG story tell - N1SG NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / narrate a story.'

- (62) *dza / tshana / hu / hukana th l sil*

dza / tsh-na / hu / huka-na th l sil - :

1PL/2PL-ERG /3 -ERG utensils rinse - N1SG NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / wash the utensils.'

- (63) *dza / tshna / hu / hukana m n yat nhan*

dza / tsh-na / hu / huka-na m n -yat nhan - :

1pl/2pl-ERG /3 -ERG brother-DAT call- N1SG. NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / call the brother.'

- (64) *dza / tshna / hu / hukana b l mher*

dza / tsh -na / hu / huka-na b l mher - :

1PL/2PL-ERG /3 -ERG ball play - N1SG. NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / play a ball.'

- (65) *dza / tshna / hu / hukana w so pulkaa*

dza / tsh-na / hu / huka-na w so pulk -a:

1PL/2PL-ERG /3 -ERG cloth patch up- N1SG. NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / patch up the cloth.'

8.2.2 Non-finite

In non past (NPST) inflection, it takes <- > suffix for first person singular (1SG), in all the verb classes and categories. <-u> in CI, <-:-> in CII and CIV, <- -> in CIII for First person plural (1PL), second person singular and plural (2), and third person singular and plural (3). A compact paradigm of non-finite verbs in Pahari language is shown in table 8.4.

4) *Table 8.4: Non-finite verbs in Pahari.*

	CI bi 'give'		CII'sew'		CIII'say'		CIV'patch'
TENSE	V	-SFX	V	-SFX	V	-SFX	V -SFX
INF	bi	-i	su	-i	he	-i	pulka-i
1SG.NPST	bi	-	su	-	he	-	pulka-
N1SG.NPST	bi	-u	su	-u	he	-	pulka-a
IMP	bi	-∅	su	-i	he	-∅	pulka-∅
SH (SELF)	bi	- ya ²³	su	- ya	he	- ya	pulka- ya
SH (NONSELF)	bi	- yo ²⁴	su	- yo	he	- yo	pulka- yo
IPFV	bi	-na	su	-na	he	-na	pulka-na
PFV	bi-i	-dhu	su-i	-dhu	he	-dhu	pulka-dhu

a. Imperative

For imperative inflection class I takes suffix <-i> (66), class II takes <-e> (except SF u takes <-i>) (67-70), class III takes <-i> (except SF e takes <-∅>) (71-74), and class IV takes <-a> followed by the glide insertion <-y> as the inflectional suffix (75).

(66) *h jat bho: bi*

²³ <- ÿã> in SHS for SFs /i and u/, it is because of high front and back vowel.

²⁴ <- ÿã> in SHS for SFs /i and u/, it is because of high front and back vowel.

h -jat bho: bi -ø
 3- AD book give -IMP

'Give him / her a book'

(67) *nu w so sui*

nu w so su -i
 1SG cloth sew -IMP

'Sew my cloth.'

(68) *tsh leg tw e*

tsh -u leg tw - e
 2S-POS shoe take off-IMP

'Take off your shoes.'

(69) *tsh tsh ja lokha goe*

tsh - tsh -ja lokha go - e
 2S -DET house -POS door lock -IMP

'Close the door of your house.'

(70) *puloko dzhæ*

pulo -ko dzha -e
 Roof-LOC climb -IMP

'Climb the roof.'

(71) *djoja k tha he*

djo -ja k tha he - ø

God -GEN story tell -IMP

'Narrate a story of a god.'

(72) *th l sili*

th l sil - i

utensils clean -IMP

'Wash the utensils.'

(73) *nanijat nhanu*

nani -jat nhan - u

Younger sister-AD call -IMP

'Call the younger sister.'

(74) *bh kundo mheri*

bh kundo mher -i

ball play -IMP

'Play a ball.'

(75) *w so pulkæ*

w so pulka -e

cloth patch up -IMP

'Patch up the cloth.'

In case of deitic verbs in which the speaker is excluded (76) imperative is marked by <-sõ>, which seems similar to *dzhas* 'come /go' honorific in KN (78) (79). Inclusive imperative (80) is marked by <go>, which sounds like English 'go'.

(76) *d h lasõ!*

d h lasõ

Inside go

'Go inside (speaker excluded)'

(77) *d h laego!*

d h laego

inside go (speaker included)

'Let us go!'

(78) *duhã dzhas !*

duhã dzhas

inside come (honorific)

'Come in, please!'

(79) *pihã dzhas !*

pihã dzhas

outside go (honorific)

'Please go out.'

The meaning of the term /dzhas / is defined by spatial deictics. In (78) it conveys the meaning 'come' whereas it stands for 'go' in (79) is because of *du* 'in' *pi* 'out'.

b. Stative/ habitual (SH)

For past self habitual / Stative (S/SH) (80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98) <- ya> (v+ ya) is added as an inflectional suffixes whereas <- yo> is added in Non-Self past Habitual /Stative (NS/SH) (81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99). <- ya> (v+ ya) in S/SH for SFs /i and u/ (70-74), it is because of high front and back vowel. Simple present marker (49-55) works as present Habitual / Stative.

(80) *na w jat bho: bi ja*

na w -jat bho: bi - ja

1S 3S -DAT book give -S/SH

'I used to give him/her a book.'

(81) *huna w jat bho: biijo*

hu -na w -yat bho: bi - ijo

3S -ERG 3 -DAT book give -NS/SH

'S/he used to give him/her a book.'

(82) *na w so su ja*

na w so su - ja

1S cloth sew -S/SH

'I used to sew cloth.'

(83) *huna w so suiijo*

hu-na w so su -ijo

2S-ERG cloth sew -NS/SH

'S/he used to sew cloth.'

(84) *na leg tw ja*

na leg tw - ja

1S shoes take off -S/SH

'I used to take off shoes.'

(85) *huna leg suiyo*

hu -na leg su -iyo

2S -ERG shoes sew-NS/SH

'S/he used to sew the shoes.'

(86) *na tsh ja lokha goeja*

na ch -ja lokha go -eya

1S house -POS door lock -S/SH

'I used to lock the door of house.'

(87) *huna lokha goejo*

hu-na lokha go -ejo

2S-ERG door lock -NS/SH

'S/he used to lock the door.'

(88) *ji puloko dzhaeja*

ji pulo -ko dzha -eja

1S roof -LOC climb -S/SH

'I used to climb the roof.'

(89) *hu puloko dzhæjo*

hu pulo -ko dzha -iyo
3S roof -POS climb -NS/SH

'S/he used to climb the roof.'

(90) *djoja k tha heeja*

dyo -ya k tha he -eja
God-GEN story tell -S/SH

'(I) used to narrate a story of a god.'

(91) *djoja k tha heejo*

djo -ja k tha he -eyo
God -GEN story tell -NS/SH

'S/he used to narrate a story of a god.'

(92) *th l sil ja*

th l sil - ja
utensils clean-S/SH

'(I) used to wash the utensils.'

(93) *th l silijo.*

th l sil -ijo
utensils clean -NS/SH

'(S/he) used to wash the utensils.'

(94) *nanijat nhan ja*

nani -jat nhan - ya

Younger sister-AD call -S/SH

'(I) used to call the younger sister.'

(95) *nanijat nhanijo*

nani -yat nhan -ijo

Younger sister -AD call -NS/SH

'(S/he) used to call the younger sister.'

(96) *bh kundo mher ja.*

bh kundo mher - ya

ball play -S/SH

'(I) used to play a ball.'

(97) *bh kundo mherijo*

bh kundo mher -ijo.

ball play -S/SH

'(S/he) used to play a ball.'

In /mher-ejo/>/mherijo/ mid front vowel changes into high front vowel.

(98) *w so pulka ja*

w so pulka - ja

cloth patch up -S/SH

'(I) used to patch up the cloth.'

(99) *w so pulkaijo.*

w so pulka -ijo

cloth patch up -NS/SH

'(S/he) used to patch up the cloth.'

8.3 Aspect forms

<-na> and <-dhu > are the morphemes of Imperfective (IPFV) and perfective (PFV) aspect respectively. For participial <-na> is directly suffixed to the verb, whereas <-dhu > 'finish' is a bound auxiliary attached to the infinitive (inf) <-e->. Perfective verb is a compound form with a structure of *V+INF+dhu* . In Pahari, perfective is generally used with a structure of the complex predicate in the form of *VI+INF+dhu +A+Person / Tense suffix*. Examples 100, 102, 104, 106, 108 are PFV.1SG (First person Singular perfectives) whereas 101, 103, 105, 107 are PFV3 (Third person perfectives).

(100) *na w so hii dhu ani*

na w so hi -: dhu -a-ni.

1 cloth wash -INF PFV A-1PST

'I have washed the clothes.'

(101) *mekata da: khuina nu tsatsiri ge dhu ari*

meka -ta da -: khu -i -na nu tsatsiri ge dhu -a -ri.

others -AD bit -NML see -A-IPFV 1GEN children fear PFV A -3PST

'Seeing the others beaten, my children were scared.'

(102) *kæpurojat thima k tha hedhu ani*

kæpuro-jat thi-ma k tha he dhu -a -ni.

son -AD one-CF story say PFV -A-1PST

'I have narrated a story to my son.'

(103) *mhyæmtsana w so sui dhu ana nuda biuri*

mhyæmtsa -na w so su -i dhu a-na nu-da bi -u -ri
daughter -ERG cloth sew-INF PFV -IMPFV 1 -DAT give-A -3PST

'After sewing the cloth my daughter gave it to me.'

(104) *na w so tw dhu ana leg kho tw ani*

na w so tw -e dhu a-na leg kho tw -a-ni
1 cloth put off -INF PFV -IMPFV shoe also put off -A-1PST

'I took off my shoes after the clothes.'

(105) *nuda hakimna nhane dhu ari*

nu-da hakim-na nhan -e dhu a -ri
1 -AD officer-ERG call -INF PFV -3PST

'I was called by the officer.'

(106) *na th l thili sil / cole dhu ani*

na th l -thili sil / col -e dhu -a -ni
1 utensils-RDP clean / rinse -INF PFV -A -1SG.PST

'I have washed the utensils.'

(107) *na tsatsirina b l mhere dhu ari*

na tsatsiri -na b l mher -e dhu -a -ri
1 children-ERG ball play -INF PFV -A -3PST

'The children have played foot ball.'

(108) *na guruu w so pulka dhu ani*

na	guru	-: ²⁵	w so pulk	-a	dhu	-a	-ni
1	worn	-NML	cloth patch	IMPFV	PFV	-A	-1PT

'I patched up my worn clothes.'

8.4 Negativization

<ma-> is the negative suffix, with allomorphs <mu-> and <mi->. <ma-> occurs before the evidential copula /khi/ 'be'.

8.4.1 Non-past

The structures of negative complex predicate (examples 109-118) have *V+NEG+COP* for Non past.

(109) *dza /tshi /tshari / h / karina w jat bho: bimakhi*

dza /tshi /tshari / h / kari-na	w -jat	bho: bi	- ma -khi
---------------------------------	--------	---------	-----------

1PL/2 /2PL /3 /3PL -ERG	3S-DAT	book	give- NEG -COP
-------------------------	--------	------	----------------

'1/2/3will/do not give him/her a book.'

(110) *dzi /dzari /tshi /tshari / h / karina ja thuimakhi > th -khi*

dzi /dzari /tshi /tshari / h / kari-na	ja	thu -i	ma -khi.
--	----	--------	----------

1 / 1PL /2/2PL /3 /3PL -ERG	rice	cook-INF	NEG -COP
-----------------------------	------	----------	----------

'1/2/3will/do not cook the rice.'

²⁵ /-:/ is the remnant of nominalizer /-gu/. The process of morphophonemics is as follows: guru 'old' -gu (NOM) > gurugu 'the worn one' > guru u (devocalization) > guru: (vowel coalescent).

/thu-i-makhi/ in casual speech pronounces as */th -khi/*. It is the byproduct of morphophonemic process: [thumakhi > thumkhi (desyllabification) > th -khi (Nasalization)].

(111) *na / dzana / tshã /tshana / h /karina leg tw makhi.*

na / dza-na / tshã /tsha-na / h /kari-na leg tw -: ma -khi
 1 /1PL /2 /2PL-ERG /3 /3PL -ERG shoes take off -A NEG-COP
 '1/2/3 will/do not take off the shoes.'

(112) *dzi /dzari /tshi /tshari / h / karina lokha gomakhi*

dzi / dzari / tshi / tshari / h / kari-na lokha go ma -khi
 1 /1PL /2 /2PL /3 /3PL-ERG door lock NEG -COP
 '1/2/3will/do not lock the door.'

(113) *dzi / dzari /tshi / tshari / h / kari puloko dzhamakhi.*

dzi / dzari / tshi / tshari / h / kari pulo-ko dzha ma -khi
 1 /1PL /2 /2PL /3 /3PL roof -LOC climb NEG-COP
 '1/2/3will/do not climb on the roof.'

(114) *dzi / dzari / tshi /tshari / h / kari k tha he makhi*

dzi / dzari / tshi / tshari / h / kari k tha he - ma -khi
 1/ 1PL /2 /2PL /3 /3PL story tell -A NEG-COP
 '1/2/3will/do not narrate a story.'

(115) *dzi / dzari / tshi / tshari / h / kari th l silima-khi*

dzi / dzari / tshi / tshari / h / kari th l sil -i ma -khi
 1/ 1PL /2 /2PL /3 /3PL utensils clean-INF NEG-COP

'1/2/3will/do not wash the utensils.'

(116) *dzi / dzari / tshi / tshari / h / karina nanijat nhanimakhi*

dzi / dzari / tshi / tshari / h / kari-na nani -jat nhan-i ma -khi

1 / 1PL / 2 / 2PL / 3 / 3PL -ERG sister -AD call -INF NEG-COP

'1/2/3will/do not invite the sister.'

(117) *dzi / dzari / tshi / tshari / h / kari bh kundo mherimakhi*

dzi / dzari / tshi / tshari / h / kari bh kundo mher-i ma -khi

1 / 1PL / 2 / 2PL / 3S / PL ball play-INF NEG-COP

'1/2/3will/do not play a ball.'

(118) *ji / jari / chi / chari / h / kari w so pulka makhi*

dzi / dzari / tshi / tshari / h / kari w so pulk -a ma -khi

1 / 1PL / 2 / 2PL / 3S / PL cloth patch up-A NEG-COP

'1/2/3will/do not patch up the cloth.'

8.4.2 Past

The past negations (examples 119-131) have a structure of neg+v+ *Inflectional Suffix*. The negative suffix <ma-> alters into <mi-> before front vowels (119, 120, 125, 128, 130, 132, 133, 136, 138), whereas it alters into <mu-> before back vowels *u, o* and ²⁶, (123, 124, 136, 127, 129, 131, 134, 137, 140). Elsewhere it remains as <ma->.

²⁶ Chomsky and Halle (in Ladefoged 1973: 250-251) define ə, ʌ vowels as back vowels on the bases of backness. Pokharel (2000:102) categorizes Nepali vowels ə, ʌ, u, & o as back vowels. Pahari language speakers are much more influenced by the neighbouring as well as Language of wider community the Nepali speakers. Prof. Sunder K Joshi in a personal conversation (July27, 2010), opines that /ma-/ negative suffix alters into /mu-/ because of its following sound w, a labial glide. Since *u* is the labial vowel.

(119) *dzi/ dzari /tshiri mid (>:).*

dzi / dzari / tshiri mi -d -:

1SG/1PL.EX/ INC NEG-sleep -1SG.PST

'I/we (EX/INC) did not sleep.'

(120) *dzari / tshiri mide*

dzari /tshiri mi -d -:

1PL.EX/INC NEG-sleep-1SG.PST

'we (EX/INC) did not sleep.'

(121) *na dza mathu*

na dza ma -thu -

1 rice NEG-cook -1SG.PST

'I did not cook the rice.'

(122) *dzana /tshina dza mathu:*

na / dza -na / tshi -na dza ma -thu -:

1S/1PL.EX -ERG / INC-ERG rice NEG-cook-1SG.PST

'I/we (EX/INC) did not cook the rice.'

(123) *dzana / tshina lukhu mutw*

dza -na /tshi -na lukhu mu -tw - :

1S/1PL.EX-ERG/INC -ERG water NEG-drink -1SG.PST

'We (EX/INC) did not drink water.'

(124) *dzana / tshina lokha mugo*

dza -na /tshi -na lokha mu -go - :

1S/1PL.EX-ERG/INC -ERG door NEG-lock -1SG.PST

'We (EX/INC) did not drink water.'

(125) *dzari/ tshiri k tha mihe*

dzari / tshiri k tha mi -he - :

1PL.EX / INC story NEG-cook -1SG.PST

'We (EX / INC) did not tell a story.'

(126) *dzari / tshiri mujhaa*

dzari / tshiri mu -jha -:

1PL / EX/INC NEG-climb -1SG.PST

'We (EX/INC) did not climb.'

(127) *dzana /tshina naniyat munhan :*

dza -na / chi -na nani -jat mi -nhan -n :

1PL.EX -ERG / INC-ERG sister -AD NEG-call -1PL.PST

'We did not invite the sister.'

(128) *dzari / tshiri mimher*

jari / chiri mi -mher - :

1PL.EX / INC NEG-play -1SG.PST

'We (EX/INC) did not play.'

(129) *na dzana / tshina w so mupulkaa*

na / ja-na / chi -na w so mu -pulk -a:

1PL.EX-ERG / INC -ERG cloth NEG -patched up -1SG.PST

'I /we (EX/INC) did not patch up the cloth.'

(130) *tshi/tshari mid na*

tshi/tshari mi -d -na

2S / PL NEG -sleep -2PST

'You did not sleep yesterday'

(131) *tshi mudzhana. tshari mudzha u*

tshi/ tshari mu -dzha -na

2SG /PL NEG -climb -2PST

'You did not climb.'

(132) *tshi mimherina*

chi mi -mheri -na

2SG/PL NEG -play -2PST

'You did not play'

(133) *tshari mimher u*

tshari mi -mher - u

2PL NEG -play -2PST

'You did not play.'

/tshari / 'you (PL) ' verb takes <- u> suffix.

(134) *tshã /na mutw na*

tshã /na mu -tw -na

2SG/PL-ERG NEG -drink -2PST

'You did not drink.'

(135) *h /karina w so masu:*

h / kari -na w so ma -su -:

3S G/ PL -ERG cloth NEG -sew -3PST

'They did sew the clothes.'

(136) *h /kari midzi mid*

h / kari midzi mi -d -:

3S G/PL yesterday NEG -sleep-3PST

'They did not sleep yesterday.'

(137) *h /kari mudzha:*

h / kari mu -dzha -:

3SG/PL NEG -climb-3PST

'They did not climb.'

(138) *h /kari mimheri*

h / kari mi -mher -i

3SG/PL NEG -play -3PST

'They did not play.'

(139) *h /kana dza mathu*

h / ka-na dza ma -thu
 3SG/PL-ERG rice NEG -cook

'They did not cook rice.'

(140) h / kana mutw ²⁷

h / ka-na mu -tw
 3SG/PL-ERG NEG -drink

'They did not drink.'

8. 5 Derivationals

In derivational, we discuss on causativization, nominalization, noun incorporation, adjectival verbs, and adverbial phrases.

8.5.1 Causativization

Causative is derived by adding <-ga> to the verb stem. The derived form as such depends upon the verb class and the stem vowel.

(141) *Table; 8.5 : Pahari causative verbs*

Cl	Gl	SF	V	K
I	'give'	i	bi	- ga
II	'born'	u	bu	- ga
III	'say'	e	he	- ga
V	'patch'	k	pulk- a	- ga

²⁷ The length plays a significant role in the semantics of the verb.

(142) *udharo bulamh tha dheba biga biuni*

udharo bula -mh -tha dheba bi -ga bi -u-ni

credit take -CF -ALL money give -K give -A-1PST

'I made the costumer to pay his credit.'

(143) *biumh sina bigumh dhaba heeyo*

bi -u -mh sina bi -gu -mh dhaba he -eyo

give -A -NML PPOS give -K -NOM great say -NSSH

'It is said, a facilitator is greater than a provider.'

(144) *biumh sina bigumh dhaba heeyo*

bi -u -mh sina bi -gu -mh dhaba he -eyo

give -A -NML PPOS give -K -NML great say -NSSH

'It is said, an arranger is greater than a provider.'

(145) *iina mhjam ca bugari*

i: -na mhjam ca bu -ga -ri

bride -ERG girl child bear -K -3PST

'The bride gave birth to a girl child.'

(146) *h na nuda tshe hena hegari*

h -na nu-da tshe - hena he -ga -ri

3s -ERG I-DAT house -LOC QT say -K -NSSH

'He made someone to call me in his house.'

(147) *s rkarna l pulkagari*

s rkar -na l pulk -a -ga -ri
 government -ERG way patch -A -K -3PST

'The government managed to patch up the street.'

8.5.2 Nominalization

KN has three nominalizing affixes which turn verbal forms, verbal phrases, clauses and sentences into nouns. Sentences (148,149 &150) are adapted from Malla (1985:91) for KN, whereas (151 & 152) are for Pahari language. In Pahari language nominalization takes place with the help of <-gu> (151) and NPST suffix <-: >(152) for Cl II verbs.

<-p > plural animate

(148) *maphup*

ma -phu -p
 NEG -able -PL

'Those who are not able'

<-gu > inanimate,

(149) *dz d kagu tsh*

ji ~ d -e -k -a -gu tsh
 1S -ERG make -INF -K -CJ -NML house

'The house I made'

<-mh > animate

(150) *th n h mh*

th n h -mh
 here bring -NML

'The one who was brought here'

(151). *w u kh lhæmire*

w -u kh lha -e mire:

go -NML talk speak -INF PRB

'Do not talk about past (things).'

(152) *tsh la: muntshe bām̃la:*

tsh - la -: muntshe bām̃ -m -la:

house -LOC go -NML man nice -NEG -fall

'The man, who went home, is not a good (person).'

8.5.3 Noun incorporation

It is a process by which a nominal functions as a part of the verb phrase.

(153) *thōna kæ*

thō -na ka -e

beer -ERG doze -INF

'To be drunk.'

(154) *d sa/dharma/pap l i dzu*

d sa /dharma /pap l i dzu

inauspicious / religion / sin fall be

'It will be inauspicious / religious / sinful.'

(155) *dz e (>dz) dzuima*

dz	e	dzu	-i	ma
auspicious	be	-INF	need	

'May (you) prosper!'

8.5.4 Adjectival verbs

Adjective in Pahari inflects for number and animacy which is exactly similar to KN.

(156) *h tsyatsma bālau*

h	tsjatsa	-mh	bāla	-u
3S	child	-NML	nice	-3PST

'S/he became a nice baby.'

(157) *h tsatskari bālau*

h	tsjatsa	-kari	bāla	-u
3S	child	-PL	nice	-3PST

'The children became nice.'

8.5.5 Adverbial phrases

Functionally, the adverbial sense is conveyed by the phrases, too. Such phrases can be categorized into nominal phrases, postpositional phrases, and reduplication.

(159) *k au muntshe bāmla:*

k	-a	-u	muntshe	bā	-m	-la:
run	-A	-NML	man	nice	-NEG	-lie

'The man in a hurry is not a good (person).'

8.6 Auxiliary Verbs

The grammaticalization of independent verbs to auxiliaries and to verbal affixes are well known processes in Tibeto-Burman languages which have been discussed at length among others by Matisoff (1969, 1976, 1991) for Lahu, Delancy (1985a, 1991) for Lhasa Tibetan, Genetti (1986a, 1986b) for Newari (Kansakar 1994:85). We will be concerned with three types of aspect verbs that have been grammaticalized fully or partially and used with various meaning in Pahari language.

8.6.1 Role of Auxiliary Verbs

A set of verbs can function as auxiliary verbs with a different meaning. e.g., /bi-/ has the meaning 'to give' as a main verb, and has a permissive or causative meaning when it functions as an auxiliary verb. Besides this permissive or causative form an auxiliary verb can denote, perfective aspect, continuation, and beginning of work or work on advance.

A main verb followed by one or more auxiliary verbs constitutes a compound verb. The main verb which functions as auxiliary will be either in infinitive or past-participle or in the habitual form.

8.6.2 Grammaticalization of modal Auxiliaries

Kansakar (1994:85) has mentioned three types of grammaticalized form of auxiliary verbs in classical Newar (CN) and Kathmandu Newar (KN). We will discuss them with Pahari examples.

a. Verbs of location / posession

/du / 'be' a copula verb in the sentences (160) and (161) convey the meaning of posession.

(160) *na daradzko s tstshi dheba ta-na ta taja du*

na	daraj	-ko	s	-tstshi	dheba	ta-na	ta	taj	du
1S	cupboard	-LOC	hundred-one	money	put-IMPVF	put	keeping	COP	
'I have saved one hundred rupees in the cupboard.'									

(161) *na tsh motorcycle ta taja du*

na	tsh	-	motorcycle	ta	taja	du
1	house	-LOC	motorcycle	put	keeping	COP
'I have a motorbike at home.'						

As an auxiliary verb /tsõ / 'sit / stay 'conveys the implied meaning of continuity of the process. The activities of sitting (161) and going (162) have the meaning of continuity.

(162) *h tha ts ina tsõ*

h	-tha	ts	-i	-na	tsõ	-ø
that	-ALL	sit	-INF	-IMPFV	sit	-IMP
'Keep sitting there.'						

(163) *tshi tsh lana tsõ*

tshi	tsh	-	la	-na	tsõ	-ø
2	house	-LOC	go	-IMPFV	sit	-IMP

'Go home and stay there.'

/tor-ta/ which carries the lexical meaning of ready to leave conveys the meaning of narrate as an implied meaning in (164), whereas in (165) it has an implied meaning of 'died'. In (166) /thiilo/ means 'arrives' as a lexical meaning whereas it has implied meaning of 'cost'.

(164) *mohanna u kh hena tortari*

Mohan -na u kh he -na tor -tari

Mohan -ERG this thing say -IMPFV leave -ready

'Finally Mohan told about the matter.'

(165) *jiu muntshena tsatsiri tortana w -u*

ji -u munche-na tsatsiri torta-na w -u

Good -NML people -ERG children leave-IMPFV go -3PST

'The good person left the children.'

(166) *u pantja s tshi dheba thiilo*

u pant ja s -tshi dheba thi -ilo

this pant -POS hundred -one money arrive -EVT

'This pant costs one hundred rupees.'

b. Verbs of motion/ direction

<-tari> (<-ten> in KN 'about to, be ready') conveys the semantics of motion.

(167) *k tha lhætari*

k tha lha -e tari

story tell -INF ready

'Some one is beginning to narrate a story'

(168) *tsitsma porehena khoetari*

tsitsma pore -he -na kho -e -tari

child hunger-do -IMPFV cry -INF -ready

'The child is begining to cry since s/he felt hungry.'

(169) *h na ga yakari phukojat nhanna in ri*

h -na ga yakari phuko -jat nhan -na yin - -ri

3-ERG villagers all -AD call -IMPFV carry -A -3PST

'He collected the villagers and led them away.'

(170) *k tha lhanat in ri*

k tha lha -na t in - -ri

story tell -IMPFV EMP carry -A -3PST

'3 went on telling a story.'

(171) *k tha lhanat hay u*

k tha lha -na t haya -u

story tell -IMPFV EMP bring -3PST

Some one started telling a story.

(172) *dulahi pehe haitari.*

dulahi pehe ha -i -tari

bride out bring -INF ready

'The bride is about to come outside.'

(173) *dz nti laitari /lætari*

dz	nti		lai/	læ	tari
procession	come	/go		ready	

'It is the time for the procession to arrive / depart.'

c. perception-cognition-utterance (PCU) verbs

Verbs with semantic equivalent of *know, understand, pretend, think, believe, ask, doubt, deny*, etc. are called perception-cognition-utterance (PCU) verbs (Poudel 2007:136).

(174) *h ja kh na sii i*

h	-ja	kh	na	si	-:	- i
3	-GEN	fact	1S	know	-A	-1RPST

'I am familiar with his tricks.'

(175) *na moko mukhæu dzuna ilo*

na	mo	-ko	mu	-khæ	-u	dzu	-na	-ilo
1	dream	-LOC	NEG	-see	-NML	be	-IMPFV	-SH

'It so happened that I never dreamt.'

(176) *na tsitamiheu kh dzuilo*

na	tsita		mi	-he	-u	kh	dzu	-ilo
----	-------	--	----	-----	----	----	-----	------

1 think NEG -do -NML fact be -EVT

'It happened that I had not even thought (about).'

(177) *mutæu kh tailo*

mu -ta -e -u kh ta -ilo

NEG -heard -INF -NML talk hear EVT

'An unexpected thing was heard.'

(178) *siuta: kariyata: ima:*

siuta:kari -yata: i -ma:

wiity person -AD ask -need

'The witty people should be consulting with each other.'

(179) *h na nhanu na muta*

h -na nhan -u na mu -ta -

3 -ERG call -NML 1 NEG -hear -1SPST

I did not hear him (calling).

(180) *kalna kho miinu*

kal -na kho mi -in -u

death -ERG also NEG -carry away -3PST

'Not carried away even by death.'

(181) *nuda (> nea) kothena kho mukha*

nuda kothena kho mu-kha

1-DAT nail-INS also NEG-see

'I was not even pricked by a nail.'

8.6.3 Serial auxiliary verbs

Serialization of verbs in Pahari (182) occurs with the help of the construction *V- NPFT-EMP*, in KN it occurs with the duplication or repetition of the auxiliary verbs (183).

(182) *khont wõari / henat lari*

kho	-na	-t	w	-a	-ri	/	he-na	t	la	-:	-ri
cry	-IMPFV	-EMP	go	-A	-3PST	/	tell-IMPFV	EMP	go	-A	-3PST

'3 came / went crying / narrating all the way.'

(183) *kho khõ w n-*

kho	kho	-	w	n	-
cry	-RDP	-EMP	go	-PST.CJ	

'Someone went on crying all the way.'

a. Finite v- aux - bound morpheme

<-ta> 'put' a bound auxiliary conveys the meaning of leave (184 and 185).

(184) *tsitsma tsh tottani*

tsitsma		tsh	-	tot	-ta	-ni
children	house	-LOC	leave	-put	-1SPST	

'I left the children at home.'

(185) *os l dheba banko ta:ni*

o	-s	1	dheba	bank	-ko	ta:	-ni
five	-hundred		money	bank	-LOC	put	-1SPST

'I left rupee five hundred in the bank.'

8.7 Modality

Modality is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event. It is broadly defined as a semantic / pragmatic device that signals a speaker's attitude towards a proposition or his opinion of the proposition, or the relationship between the predicate and its subject. In other words, it refers to the non-propositional elements of a sentence²⁸ (Palmer 1986:15). We exemplify this phenomenon from the sentences in (186).

(186) a. *netatana ghus ne ri*

neta	-ta	-na	ghus	ne	-	-ri
leader	-PL	-ERG	bribe	eat	-A	-3PST

'Leaders took bribes.'

b. *netatana ghus niu bām la:*

neta	-ta	-na	ghus	ni	-u	bām	-m	-la	-:
leader	-PL	-ERG	bribe	eat	-NOM	good	-NEG	-lie	-SH

'It is not good for the leaders to take bribes.'

²⁸ In this view the categories like tense and aspect are regarded as the parts of the category of modality. In this dissertation we take a different view. Here we regard tense and aspect as distinct morpho-syntactic categories although they are closely related.

c. *netatana ghus nesini...*

neta -ta -na ghus ne -sini

leader -PL -ERG bribe eat -CND

'If leaders took bribes...'

d. *netatana ghus mine ri*

neta -ta -na ghus mi -ne - -ri

leader -PL -ERG bribe NEG -eat -A -3PST

'The leaders did not take bribes.'

e. *h kana netatata ghus niima hã*

h -ka-na neta -ta -ta ghus ni -i -ma: hã

3S-PL-ERG leader-PL -AD bribe eat -INF -need PART

'He told the leaders that they should take bribes.'

f. *netata, ghus ne*

neta -ta ghus ne -ø

leader -PL bribe eat -IMP

'Leaders, take bribes.'

g. *tsula netatana ghus ne ri?*

tsula neta -ta -na ghus ne - -ri

Q leader -PL -ERG bribe eat -A -3PST

'Did the leaders take bribes?'

In (186 a-g), *netatana ghus ne* - ‘leaders take bribe’ constitutes the proposition. In this propositional frame *neta-ta* ‘leaders’ is identified as subject-agent, *ghus* ‘bribe’ as the object-patient, and *ne*-‘eat’ as the predicate viz. the transitive event and this propositional frame is unaffected by the modality although each one is encased by modality. In (186a), the element of modality is not explicitly marked but the sentence expresses the proposition as true. In (186b) the element of modality is marked and it can be translated in English as ‘it is not good...’ In (186c) the element of modality constitutes the complementizer marked by *sine*. The negation marks the element of modality in (186 d).The instigation by the speaker to the leaders constitutes the element of modality in (186e).The element of modality is marked by the imperative in (186f) and by *yes/no* question in (186g).

There is no agreement among the scholars about the exact number of modal systems that natural languages have. Huddleston (1984) classifies the modal system of natural languages into deontic and epistemic systems. The deontic modality is also called root modality, for example in (Coates 1983). Bybee et al (1994) subcategorizes root modality into agent oriented, speaker oriented modality and they establish three modal systems, namely agent oriented, speaker oriented and epistemic systems.

We discuss the modal systems of Pahari within subsystems of:

- Epistemic modality and
- Deontic modality

8.7.1 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality has its scope over the whole proposition and deals with the truth value of that proposition (Butler 2004:4). It codes the semantic levels such as truth, degree of probability, certainty, evidence, belief, etc. With epistemic modality the speakers express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition.

Epistemic modality can be of two types -factual and non-factual (Givón 2001). Factual epistemic modalities can have either presupposition or realis assertion and nonfactual modalities have irrealis assertion and negative assertion. When a proposition is taken for granted to be true and its truth is not challenged by the hearer, we say that the proposition contains presupposition e.g., the sentence '*John F. Kennedy was assassinated*' presupposes that John F. Kennedy was a prominent person. A realis assertion is one in which the speaker asserts a proposition to be true and has evidence, if its truth is questioned. The realis portrays situations as actualized, knowable through direct perception, for instance:

(187) *He had the dog for two years.*

A proposition is said to be an irrealis assertion if it is weakly asserted and the speaker has no evidence to prove its truth. The irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable through imagination. The proposition may be possible, likely, uncertain, necessary. In case of negative assertion the proposition is strongly asserted to be false and it contradicts the assumed belief of the speaker.

As with epistemic modality, the speakers express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition. Hence, it applies to assertions. An unmarked assertion is the total commitment to the truth of the proposition and the marked assertions express the degree of the commitment to the truth of the proposition.

The factual epistemic modality is unmarked and it does not have subclasses. It is expressed by the lexical verbs. On the other hand, non-factual epistemic modality is the marked category with irregular markings, usually on the verbs.

8.7.2 Modal verbs

According to Poudel (2007:66) modal verbs often create analytical problems for every linguist. There is no common agreement among the linguists about the exact semantics of modal verbs even in the well studied languages such as English and German (Kratzer 1997, Sweetser 1990). Not much attention has been paid to the study of modal verbs in the selected languages, least in South Asian languages in general. Modal verbs usually have idiosyncratic properties. Many of these verbs have the same forms for modal and main verbs. As main verbs, these verbs have stative forms or serve as the light verbs of complex predicates. To illustrate our point, we have selected Pahari verb *la*: ‘fall, lie’. The sentence in (188) has a stative predicate with *la*: meaning ‘lie’ and the sentence in (189) has a light verb couched in a noun verb complex predicate

(188) *kukude j na purbapatti la:*

kukude	j	-na	purba	-patti	la	-:
Kodku	Kathmandu	-ABL	east	-DIR	lie	-SH
'Kodku lies to the east of Kathmandu.'						

(189) *kahilekāhi ekko haleyomamto na: læyo*

kahilekāhi	ekko	haleyo	mamto	na:	la	-eyo
sometimes	more talking	lady		meet	lie	-SHNS
'Sometimes some talkative girls are found.'						

The main verb form of *la:-* in (188) is semantically equal to *du* ‘existential be’, as it can be replaced by *du* without change of meaning. But the *la:* in (189) has its dynamic meaning of

‘fall’, which occurs in a noun verb complex predicate, functioning as the light verb of the complex predicate.

8.7.3 Tense categories: Past and non past

Present and future denote the same verb suffix that mean there is no morphological future tense (191,192), hence is known as non-past. Lexical future *kinchi* 'tomorrow' is used (in 192). <- >, <-u>, <-:->, <- :->, <-a> are the non past marker suffices. In examples (50-56), all the classes / groups of verbs take a single suffix <- > (v-) for the first person singular number (1S). This is a simplification of the language. In non past inflection (NPST), it takes <- > suffix for 1S, in all the verb classes and categories. <-u> in CI, <-:-> in CII and CIV, <- :-> in CIII for 1PL, 2, and 3. A compact paradigm of non-finite verbs in Pahari language is shown in Table 4.

(190) *na pakha kor*

na	pakha	kor	-
1SG	sloppy land	chop	-1NPST
'I plough the sloppy land.'			

(191) *dzi kintshi ja*

dzi	kintshi	ja	-
1SG	tomorrow	come	-1NSPT
'I will come tomorrow.'			

8.7.4 Speaker-oriented modality

Speaker oriented modality includes directives such as commands, demands, request/sh, asking, warnings, exhortations and recommendations, and the speaker granting permission to

the listener. The speaker-oriented modality is different from the agent oriented modality in the sense that the latter reports the existence of conditions on the agent but in the former the speaker imposes such condition on the listener. The grammatical forms expressing speaker-oriented modality are:

- Imperative
- Prohibitive

a. Imperative

Imperative issues a direct command to the listener. For imp inflection class I takes suffix <-i> (66), class II takes <-e> (except SF u takes <-i>) (67-70), class III takes <-i> (except SF e takes <-ø>) (71-74), and class IV takes <-a> followed by the glide insertion <-y> as the inflectional suffices (75).

b. Prohibitive

Prohibitive prohibits the listener from doing something. It is achieved by negating the imperative form by attaching the negative bound auxiliary /*mire/or /male/* in Pahari language (Pahari). Prohibitives (192-197) have a structure of [v+*inf mire/male*]

(192) *tshi/tshari d imale*

tshi / tshari d -: -male

2SG/PL sleep -INF -PRB

'You should not sleep'

(193) *tshã thuimale*

tshã thu -i male

2SG cook -INF PRB

'You should not cook'

(194) *nuda th r bhusa pæmale*

nu-da th r bhusa pa -e male

1-AD today food serve -INF PRB

'There is no need to prepare the food for me.'

(195) *nuda dza boemale*

nu-da dza bo -e male

1-AD rice serve -INF PRB

'There is no need to serve the rice for me.'

(196) *tshi/tshari d imire*

tshi/tshari d -: mire

2SG/PL sleep -INF PRB

'You do not sleep.'

(197) *tshã dza thuimire*

tshã dza thu -i mire

2SG rice cook -INF PRB

'(You) do not cook'

Both <-male> [<*mwāl*> in Kathmandu Newar (KN)] and <-mire> (<-*m te*> in KN) are prohibitive bound auxiliaries. <-mire> reveals the strong prohibition whereas <-male> is soft. <-male> has an optional management (192-195), but <-mire> has no such things (196-197).

c. Counter-factual

Counter-factuals and conditionals express irrealis meanings, for example, the speaker has doubt about the veracity of the proposition or the proposition is unrealized. Let's consider the sentence in (198):

(198) *tshi belako lajasini gurujata naalaau*

tshi	bela-ko	læ	-a	sini	guru-jata	na:la	-u
2SG	time-LOC	come	-ANT	COMP	teacher-AD	meet	-NML

'If you had come in time, you would have met the teacher.'

8.7.5 Non volitional

a. Certainty

It denotes the proposition in which the speaker emphasizing is true. It has no special marker. *-i* suffix convey the meaning of both -1SNPT and willingness. This is a case of meaning that is intended.

(199) *dzi kintshi tsh tsuni*

dzi	kintshi	tsh	-	tsun	-i
1S	tomorrow	ch	-LOC	stay	-1SG.NPST

'I will be at home (certainly).'

In this sentence the speaker expresses willingness. The meaning is in speaker's mind.

(200) *dzi d u da: ni*

dzi	d	-u	da:	ni
1S	be	-NML	be-NPST	EMP

'Yes I will be.'

In this sentence the speaker expresses certainty with double emphatic particle <-u> [(he > e) (simplification) > u (vowel raising)] and /ni/.

b.Possibility/ probability

The main function of this mood is to indicate that the situation described in the proposition is probably true. It is marked by the auxiliary verb <-tini>, which expresses certainty, intention, and probability.

(201) *h na sambidhansabhako dzitehahtini*

h	-na	sambidhan	sabha	-ko	dzit	-e	-h	: tini
3SG-ERG		constitution	assembly	-LOC	win	-INF		-certainty

'He will (surely) win in the Constituency Assembly.'

The auxiliary verb <-tini> expresses certainty (planning) and probability. The agent took participation as a candidate, so s/he has a probability of winning (202).

(202) *dzi kintshi tshathæ læmini*

dzi	kintshi	tsh	-thæ	la	-e	mini
1S	tomorrow	2-ALL		come	-INF	plan

'I have to come to you.'

(203) *tas mherina h na tsh u dheba phukka ne tini*

tas	mheri	-na	h	-na	tsh	-u	dheba	phukka	ne-	tini
cards	play	-NPFT	3	-ERG	2	-DET	money	all	eat-NPST	certainty

'He will win your money during the card game.'

Somebody has made a plan to win addresse's money, <-tini>, the bound auxiliary expresses certainty and intention (203, 204), whereas <-mini> reveals the meaning of scheduled plan (202, 205). <-tini> is less probable than <-mini> which is a greater possibility.

(204) *dza netini* 'I will need to have a meal'.

dile netini 'I will need to have lunch'.

<i>dze wātini</i>	'I will have to join the work'.
<i>tsoatini</i>	'I will have to stay'.
<i>he tini</i>	'I will have to say'.
<i>w sona p atini</i>	'I will have to put on the clothes.'
(205) <i>dza nemini</i>	'I need to have a meal'.
<i>dile nemini</i>	'I need to have lunch'.
<i>dze wāmīni</i>	'I have to join the work.
<i>tsoamini</i>	'I have to stay'.
<i>he mini</i>	'I have to say'.,
<i>w sona p amini</i>	'I have to put on the clothes'.

v-e phu- 'verb-inf able' are markers of giving permission that have the sense of deontic possibility. Bybee et al (1994:193) argue the possibility that markers develop from the ability markers. They cite the example from English modal verb *can*, which developed from its sense of ability to possibility. Similar conclusion can be drawn for Pahari possibility marker <-phu>. Its path of grammaticalization can be summarized as:

(206) Ability > possibility

As an ability marker *phu* in Pahari language expresses both physical and mental enabling condition in the agent, and further its sense of enabling condition in the agent gets bleached and becomes general marker of ability not restricted to the agent. At this stage it gets the sense of root possibility because the enabling condition is not restricted to the agent internally but also to the external conditions. When this verb acquired this sense, it also

became the marker of permission, as permission includes the sense of both physical and social conditions as illustrated by the sentences in (195,196):

(207) *th r wa i: phu*

th r wa i -i phu

today rain come -INF able

'It may rain today.'

(208) *th r Ram læ phu*

th r Ram la -e phu

today Ram come -INF able

It is possible that Ram will come today.

c. Necessity / compulsion

The markers of necessity are similar to the markers of obligation i.e., *v-e ma:* 'verb-INF need' in Pahari. Necessity is a physical condition in which the agent is compelled to complete the predicate action as shown in (209, 210, 211):

(209) *sunth h thæ d ita nuda larm tiima:*

sunth h thæ d -i -ta nu-da larm ti -i -ma:

morning early get up-INF -PURP 1-AD alarm put -INF -need

'It is necessary for me to have an alarm to get up early in the morning.'

(210) *na u dze mus ika muga:*

na u dze mu -s -i -ka mu -ga:

1 this work NEG-do-INF-K NEG -enough

'I must do it at any cost.'

(211) *h ptako thinu tsh tsuina dze s ima:*

h pta-ko thi -nu tsh - cu -i -na dze s -i ma:

week-LOC one-CF home -LOC stay -INF -IMPFV work act -INF need

'I have to work in the house once in a week.'

(212) *lithiko nuda ch kh rc heta dzi h zar dheba ma:*

Li -thi -ko nuda ch kh rc he-ta dzi-h zar dheba ma:

month-one-LOC me petty expenditure do-PRP ten-CF money need

'I need Rs10,000 a month as household expenditure.'

In (213) the speaker imposes the necessity of coming next day upon his hearer.

(213) *tshi kintshi sunth læumaa*

tshi kintshi sunth la -e -u ma:

2 tomorrow morning come -INF -EMP need

'You have to come tomorrow morning.'

8.7.6 Volitional

a. Permissive

In permissive the speaker grants permission to the listener. In Pahari, it is marked by the construction of *v-inf able* (214) or *v-inf yes* (215).

214) *tshi bhantshako læ phu na*

tshi	bhantsha	-ko	la	-e	phu	na
2S	kitchen	-LOC	go	-INF	able	2SG.PST

'You can come in the kitchen.'

215) *tshi tshe læ dziu*

tshi	tshe	-	la	-e	dziu
1S	house	-LOC	go	-INF	yes

'You may come in the house.'

b. Suggestive

In suggestive the speaker makes a suggestion to the listener. In Pahari it is marked by the construction of *v-so jiu* 'v-if yes' (216) or *v-inf yes* (217).

(216) *w sona pōso dziu ni*

w	so-na	pō	-so	dziu ni
cloth-ERG	wear	-if	yes	PART

'It will be better if you dressed-up.'

(217) *Sunth hothe duina lukha bo thilsu dziu ni*

sunth	hothe duina	lukha	bō	thil	-su	dziu ni
morning	early	waking up	door	floor	smear -if	yes PART.

'It is suggested to smear up the door early in the morning.'

c. Restrictive

/-gu>u/ the common marker of the restrictive. Sentence (218) is a periphrastic example of restrictive. (218) is in a rare use, whereas (219 & 220) are common.

(218) *muntsheya poreko j mpapatti taha sirha: gata silma heeyo*

muntshe -ja pore -ko j mpa patti taha sirha: ga-ta silma he -eyo

man -POS stomach -LOC right side long red organ-AD liver say-SH

'The red long organ in the human stomach is called the liver.'

(219) *dhaulōko mhuskurōu tsh nuu khiu:*

dhaulō-ko mhuskurō-u tsh nu -: khiu:

dhaulō-LOC yellow-NML house my -DET COP

'The yellow house at Dhaulon locality is mine.'

(220) *kausi dugu tsh nuu khiu:*

kausi du-gu tsh nu -: khiu:

balcony be-NML house my -DET COP

'The house with a balcony is mine.'

d. Obligation

Obligation is an external social condition in which the agent is compelled to complete the predicate action as shown in (221).

(221) *tsikana dhabakata manehema:*

tsika -na dhabaka-ta man -e -he ma:

younger-ERG elders-AD respect-INF do need

'Youngsters should respect the elders.'

Necessity and obligation can have ambiguity but usually the context helps the speakers to disambiguate. Let's consider the sentence in (222).

(222) *mohan uthæ læma*

mohan uthæ la -e ma:

mohan here come -INF need

'Mohan must come here.'

The sentence in (222) can be interpreted as focal agent-oriented as Mohan has the obligation that he comes here. On the other hand, if it occurs in a context that Mohan has taken an appointment to see me, the message conveyed by the speaker is 'He has enough evidence to conclude that he is coming'. Hence, sentence (222) has marginal epistemic interpretation.

The markers of obligation are compound verb construction *v-e ma*: 'verb-inf need' in Pahari (223), strings of affixes <-e> *irrealis* marker, <-(h)e> obligation marker, <-ma:> 'need' in Pahari as in (222).

Obligation is an external social condition in which the agent is compelled to complete the predicate action as shown in (223):

(223) *dzagir ni:ta phukko k rm tsarina niyuktip tr kæe ma:*

dzagir ni:ta phukko k rm tsari-na niyukti p tr ka -e -e ma:

job eat-PURP all employee-ERG appointment letter take-INF EMP need

'An employee must produce an appointment letter.'

One of the primary semantic notions of obligation is that of force dynamic. The subject is expected to fulfill certain duty or norms as established in the speech community. Failure to fulfill such duty or norms, the subject is debarred of certain opportunity as in (223).

Temporally the infinitival *-e* plus *ma*: ‘need’ in Pahari in the sentence in (209) conveys an obligation sense. In Pahari this is indicated by the (Infinitive marker) irrealis suffix and (need) nominalizer marker. This conclusion helps us to generalize that the obligation includes the sense of future projection.

As we have mentioned above the obligation is imposed externally; it is possible to treat the agent as an obligation construction like a patient. This is the reason that the Pahari construction in (210) needs the light verb *ma*- ‘need’.

Obligation can be either strong or weak. If a strong obligation is not carried out, the consequences are severe but they are not if the weak obligation is not carried out. Produce the appointment letter, or s/he will not be allowed to join the job.

8.8 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the verb and verb phrase in Pahari under the headings of verb stems, verb inflection systems, tense aspect forms, modality, auxiliary verbs and derivationals.

The Pahari verbs are classified into four major groups / class in terms of their alternations that take epenthesis prior to suffixation. Pahari verbs inflect for tense, number and person, which differs from KN. KN inflects for tense, that is Past and Non-past and person, in a conjunct [Self(S)) and disjunct (Non self (NS)]. It has a simple past and remote past (RPST). In aspect it inflects for participial (PTP) and perfective (PFV). <ma-> is the negative suffix, with allomorphs <mu-> and <mi->. <ma-> occurs before existential copula /khi/ 'be'. Pahari being a homogenous society, it has no vertical hierarchy in the society that reflects the language and there are no honorific pronouns and verbs in the language.

We have discussed the modal systems in Pahari under the headings of epistemic and deontic. We have presented the markings of agent oriented modality and discussed their functional meanings in Pahari. We have provided the evidence of the path of grammaticalization of these markers, wherever possible.

We have discussed the auxiliary verbs in which grammaticalized auxiliaries are categorized into three groups (Kansakar 1994: 81-97) namely verbs of location / possession, verbs of motion/ direction, perception-cognition utterance (PCU) verbs.

We have discussed derivationals in which causative, nominalization, noun incorporation, adjectival verbs, adverbial phrases.

CHAPTER 9

ADVERBS

9.0 Outline

This chapter examines adverbs in Pahari. It consists of four sections. We discuss classification of adverbs in Pahari in section (9.1). In section (9.1.1) we discuss simple adverbs. In subsection (9.1.2) we discuss the derivational adverbs. Finally In (9.2) we summarize the chapter.

9.1 Classification

Adverbs modify verbs. They are of simple and derived types.

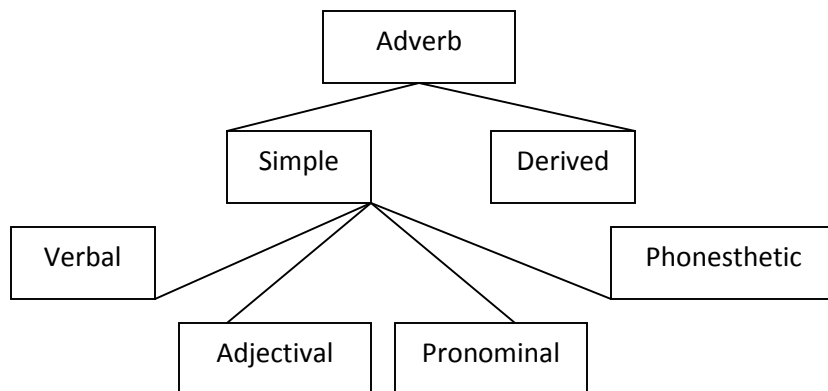


Figure 9:1, Classification of adverbs

9.1.1 Simple

Simple adverbs represent time and location.

Table 9.1: Adverbial Representation

(1)	<i>Adverb</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Representation</i>
	h tha	there	location
	utha	here	location
	a:	now	time
	ale	then	time

9.1.2 Derivations

As for the derivational adverbs of manner, there are four main sources of derivation, from verbs.

a. Verbs

The labial and palatal glides / v,w / are normally inserted in derivative words such as

adjectives, pronominals and phonesthetics, e.g. *sa* :>*sjæ* 'taste' and *ga*:>*gjæ* 'sufficient' are a few typical examples.

(2) *sa*: > *sjæja bhusa pjæ*

sjæ -ej *bhusa* *pjæ* -e

tasty -ADV food prepare-IMP

'Prepare the food tastefully.'

(3) *ga*: > *nuda dheba gjæja haja*

nuda *dheba* *gjæ* -eja *ha* -ja

me money sufficient -ADV bring -IMP

'Bring me enough money.'

(4) th ru > *tsh th rkjæja halu*

tsh th rka -eja hal -u

house echo -ADV speak -IMP

'Speak loudly that echoes in the house.'

(5) s > *bhatabhung s :ja bhapu iju*

bhatabhung s -ija bhapu i -u

ONM destruct-ADV quake come -PST

'The earth shook destructively.'

b. Adjectives

The addition of the suffix <-eya> to the adjective stem is the commonest derivation.

(6) dhaba > *dhabeja dze suima:*

dhaba -eja dze su -i -ma:

big -ADV work act -A -need

'One should act greatly.'

(7) sirha > *khe sirhaeja dze suimure*

khe sirha -eja dze su -i -mure

face red -ADV work act -A -NEG

'Do not do shameful work.'

(8) ts rkha > *thō tsah tsakhra ja iu*

thō tsakh tsakhra- ya i -u

beer sweet sweet-ADV come -PST

'The beer began to be sweet in taste.'

(9) bāla: > bālæja bho: bõ

bāla-eja bho: bõ -ø

nice-ADV book read -IMP

'Study in a serious manner.'

(10) Addition of <-ka> suffix for adjectival derivation also found. It is rare in practice, whereas is the commonest suffix in Kathmandu Newar.

(a) ge > *tsitsma geka sou:*

tsitsma ge -ka so -u:

child afraid -ADV move -PST

'Some one so acted to frighten the child.'

(b) *m tsa gjakk khitsa hal .*

m ca gjak -k khit+a hal -

baby scare -ADV dog cry -3PST

'As the dog barked, the baby was frightened.'

(c) *nug : sjakk dheba t n .*

nug : sja -kk dheba t n -

heart pain -ADV money lose -3PST.

'I lost the money that I feel pain.'

c. Pronominal

Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are basically adjectival in function, hence (Joshi 1984:165) named them as Demonstrative and Interrogative based adjectives. This researcher has named this a pronominal, in view of combining nature of both pronouns.

- (11) *irha* > *irhaeja* 'in this manner' [Proximate to Addressor (A1)]
cher > *cherheja* 'in that manner' [Proximate to Addressee (A2)]
herhe > *herheja* 'in that manner' [distal (D)]
h th > *h th a* 'in that manner' [remote(R)]

Pronominal derived adverbs can be subcategorized into the following sub-class:

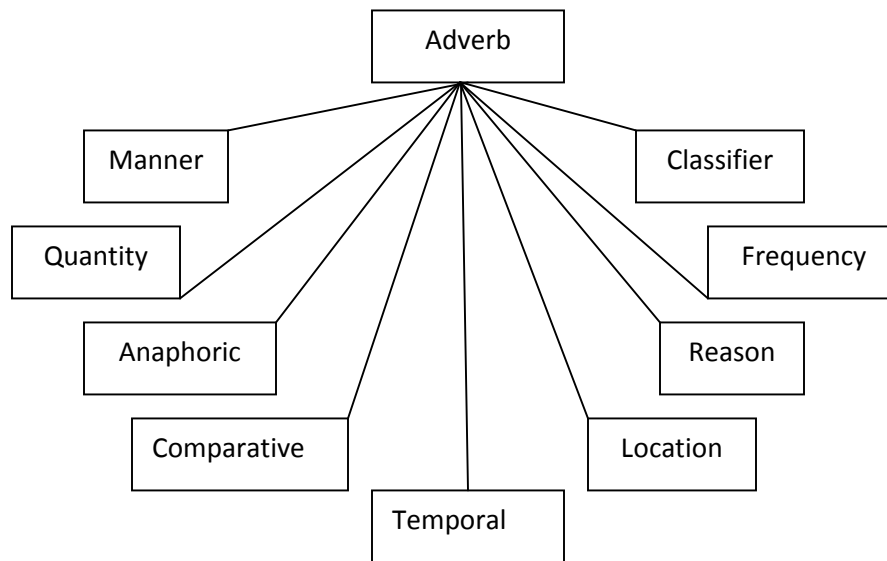


Figure 9:.2, Subcategories o f pronominal derivative adverbs

- (i) Manner <-*eja*>

This is the common sub-category of adverb found elsewhere.

- (12) A1 *Irha* >*irhaeja* 'in this manner'

A2	<i>tsher</i>	> <i>tsherheja</i>	'in that manner'
D	<i>herhe</i>	> <i>herheya</i>	'in that manner'
R	<i>h th</i>	> <i>h th a</i>	'in that manner'
I	<i>ghu</i>	> <i>ghiru ra</i>	'how?'

(ii) Quantity <-rhi>

Basically this is <-ti> that has changed to <-rhi>. Morphophonemic process can be summarized as:

/-ti>/>-rhi/ (rhotacization)>/-ri/ (deaspiration).

(13)	A1	<i>urhi ja</i>	'this much rice'
	A2	<i>cheri cini</i>	'that much sugar'
	D	<i>h ri bho</i>	'that many book'
	R	<i>h th ti lukhu ta</i>	'put that much water'
	I	<i>gwar ti: hai ra?</i>	'How much you need?'

(iii) Anaphoric <-l>/

(14)	A1	<i>uli bho haya</i>	'give me this (one) book'
	A2	<i>tshouli leg e</i>	'buy those shoes'
	D	<i>tshuda h li dile ne</i>	'That one snack is for you.'
	R	<i>h nthē w so kjae</i>	'Take that one cloth.'
	I	<i>gh li munche?</i>	'Which one (man)?'

(iv) Comparative <-ti>

(15)	A1	<i>uti pusa muga:</i>	'This much seed is not sufficient.'
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- A2 *ch rti sa: muga:* 'That much fertilizer is not sufficient.'
- D *h rti s ts h dzu:* 'That much firewood was added.'
- R *h theti phisa c h dzu:* 'That much sand is over there.'
- I *gwarti ti: ra?* 'How much you need?'
- (v) Temporal <-pai>
- (16) A1 *urpaiko ljae* 'Come at this time.'
- A2 *tsh r paiko ni ra:?* 'Do you eat at that time?'
- D *h rpaiko ui ra:?* 'Do you go at that time?'
- I *gurpai dz u?* 'What time is it?'
- (vi) Location <-tha>
- (17) A1 *utha tsō* 'sit here.'
- A2 *tsh tha tsō* 'sit there.'
- D *h tha tshe digi* 'built a house there.'
- R *h thae tsō, utha i:mire* 'Stay over there, do not come here.'
- I *dzi gh tha tsōi ra?* 'Where should I stay?'
- (vii) Reason <-nou>
- (18) A1 *dzi khukhratha jui i, unou sols da: / ca:*
 'I visited damp places, so I caught a cold.'
- A2 *tshounou ko:na pu:* 'that is why you have fever.'
- D *h no kujuna a:* 'so the dog bit (you).'
- I *ghirera je su ra* 'how do I work?'

(viii) Frequency <-p t ak>

This is a loan suffix derived from Nepali, a neighbouring language of wider community (LWC).

(19) A1 *u p t k pas madzu* 'this time (he) did not pass.'

D *h salko wa mija* 'It did not rain that year.'

I *goiela lai tena* 'when will you come?'

(ix) Classifier

It has no special marker as the meaning depends on the targeted object.

(20) A1 *uar u tsh* 'a house of this size'

A2 *ch r u tsh* 'a house of that size'

D *hu r u TV* 'a TV that big'

I *gu r u* 'of what size?'

d. Phonesthetic

(i) Transient

(21) *surkyaeja la* 'comes silently'

pulukyaeja so 'look in an instant'

(ii) Continuous

(22) *tukruhya tsoun* 'sit in an Indian toilet position'

bulu buluhyja nhilu 'gradually smile'

<i>toswae dhon</i>	'stand straight'
<i>thinghaja dun</i>	'stand straight'(in Nepali manner)
<i>tulkyajenja so</i>	'staring at'

(ii) Durative

(23)	<i>khusukhusuja</i>	'silently'
	<i>sulusuluja dzu</i>	'moves silently.' (Insects)
	<i>tulutuluja sou</i>	'staring at.'
	<i>phiriphirija hjo:</i>	'still breathing.'
	<i>sirisirija phusi iju</i>	'breeze blows gently'
	<i>kyarkyarija halu</i>	'commenting irritatingly'
	<i>kurukuru wou</i>	'crawled away'

CHAPTER 10

CLASSIFIERS

10.0 Outline

This chapter examines classifiers in Pahari. It consists of noun and verb classifiers. We divide noun classifiers into true and quasi classifier in Pahari in section (10.1). In subsection (10.1.1) we discuss numeral classifiers. In subsection (10.1.2) we discuss the verb classifiers. Finally, we summarize the chapter in (10.2).

10.1 Classification

The classifiers of Pahari are similar to Newar, the one of the fully developed classifier languages in Nepal. The general characteristics of classifier are suffixed to form noun phrase quantifier (Hale 1986: xxxiii). In Pahari the structure of a quantifier is *numeral-classifier-headword*. However, in the unit representation the arrangement is *classifier-numeral* as in Table (10.1).

Table 10.1: Arrangement in classifiers

(1)	<i>Word</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>meaning</i>
	d -thi	year-one	a year
	li-thi	month-one	a month
	ba:-thi	half month-one	a half month

In Pahari, the classifier can be classified into *Numeral* (Rie Hasada 1995:2) and *Verbal*. Numeral classifier is subdivided into *True* and *Quasi*. True classifier can be further divided

into *Animate* versus *Inanimate*. Quasi classifiers can be further divided into *General*, *Mass* and *Measure*. Verbal classifier can be subdivided into S (intransitive Subject) and O (Direct object). The classification is presented in the figure (10.1):

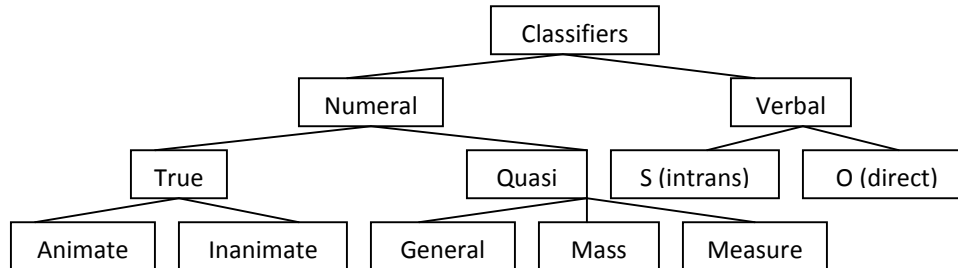


Figure 10.1; classification of classifiers

According to Malla (1985:70) Newar is a classifier language; all of its count nouns are counted by numerals in combination with a specific classifier.

Since Pahari belongs to Newar subgroup of Himalish sub-Division (Noonan 2003:23), the statement also applies to Pahari. Such classifiers follow (or precede, this is what Malla (1985) left out in the statement) the head noun whereas all modifiers precede the head noun. Kansakar in a personal conversation (2010 September 28) strongly denies the concept of classifier construction (*Numeral-classifier-head word*) with special reference to Newar. Let us examine with few examples from Pahari, Kathmandu Newar, Nepali and Dhankute Tamang:

Pahari

(2) *bho:nhipa haja*

bho:	nhi	-pa haja	- ø
book	two	-CF bring	-IMP
'Bring two books.'			

(3) *nhipa bho: haja*

nhi -pa bho: haja - ø
two -CF book bring -IMP

'Bring two books'

Kathmandu Newar

(4) *ch pu suka h dzi*

ch -pu suka h dzi - ø
one -CF thread bring -IMP

'Bring a strand of thread.'

(5) *suka ch -pu haja*

suka ch -pu haja - ø
thread one -CF bring -IMP

'Bring a strand of thread.'

Nepali

(6) *euta dhago ljau*

ek -uta dhago lja -u
one -CF thread bring -IMP

'Bring a strand of thread.'

(7) *dhago euta ljau*

dhago ek -uta lja -u

thread one -CF bring -IMP

'Bring a strand of thread.'

Dhankute Tamang (data from Poudel 2006:83)

(8) *mhi gik khadzi.*

mhi gik kha -dzi

man one come -PST

'One man came'

(9) *gik mhi khadzi*

gik mhi kha -dzi

one man come -PST

'One man came.'

In Pahari (2, 3), KN (4, 5), in Nepali (6, 7) and in Dhankute Tamang (8, 9) all are acceptable. Tamang is not a classifier language, but being a language of South Asia it bears an aerial feature of classifier language. So the classifier cluster should be proposed as *Numeral-classifier-head word or head word-numeral-classifier*.

10.1.1 Numeral classifier

Other languages have special morphemes which only appear next to a numeral, or a quantifier. They may categorize the referent of a noun in terms of its animacy, shape, and other inherent properties. These are Numeral classifiers (Rie Hasada 1995:2). The structure of a Numeral classifier is *Numeral-classifier-Noun*.

a. True

True classifiers are overt expressions of unit counting used with reference to structured units that are normally counted as individuals. Their choice is governed by the membership of the head in one or another of the quantifier class. They individuate head nouns that are indeterminate for number. They have no reality outside the numeral expression (Greenberg 1972, Hale and Shresthacharya 1973:4-5).

(i) Animate

<-sa>

There is only one animate classifier used only for a person. In sentence (1) (hereafter only number will be mentioned within small parenthesis) /nhi-sa muntshe/ 'two persons' <-sa> is a human animate marker classifier. Human nonhuman distinction is found only in the Pahari dialect of Newar in contrast with the standard dialect.

(10) *nhisa muntshejata thidzo he:jo*

nhi-sa	munche-jata	thi	-jo	he	-ejo
two-CF man	-AD	one	-pair	say	-NS/SH

'A group of two people called a pair.'

(ii) Inanimate

Many of the inanimate classifiers are selected on the basis of a shape-based classification of head word. It includes <-pu> 'long and cylinder', <-ma> 'plant or general', <-ba> 'flat', <pa> 'flat human organs', <-gu> 'fruits', <-pai> 'lump', <-po:> 'Package, opening', <-gona> 'ball', <-ka> 'flips', <-ca:> 'ring', <-nu> 'day', <-kha> 'residence', <phoe> 'flower', <-cha:> 'meal'.

<-pu>

It marks long and stranded objects: long fruits like: radish in example (11), banana (12), wick (13), incense (14), long knife or likely arms (15). <-pu>, voiceless becomes <-bu> (15), voiced followed by /thi-/ 'one' voiced, elsewhere is <-pu>.

(11) *tsotha-bh kh djojata thipu kho tshjæma:*

tsotha-bh kh -djo-jata thi-pu kho chja -e ma:

cotha-time thief-god-DAT one-CF radish offer -INF need:

'A radish should be offered to the thief-god at the time of cotha²⁹ festival.'

(12) *dz nipu modzija thi:kwæ dzuijo*

dz ni-pu modzi-ja thi:-kwæ dz-ijo

12 -CF banana-POS one-CF be-NS/SH

'Twelve bananas make a comb.'

(13) *Tapae/j ja djojata djo pudza heubh nhjapu ira: tigima:*

Tapae/j ja djo -jata djo pudza he -u bh nhja -pu ira: ti -g -i ma:

Of far/Ktm god -AD god worship do -NML time seven-CF wick lit-K-INF need

'One should light seven strands of wick to the goddess Harati.'

(14) *jarga-djo-jata nhja-pu dhupu ti-gi-ma:*

jarga-djo-jata nhja -pu dhupu ti -g -i ma:

hang-god-AD seven-CF incense lit-K-INF need

'One should light seven sticks of incense to the god of Hadigaun.'

(15) *thibu tsibi/motsibiya gwara?*

thi -bu tsibi / motsibi -ja gwara?

²⁹ Lord Ganesha is offered radish and laddu 'sweet-ball' on the fourth day of waxing moon in the month of Bhadra (August/ September) to please him. Hence the festival is known as *cotha* in Kodku or *catha* (Kathmandu).

One -CF knife/ khukuri -POS how much

'How much does a *khukuri* / knife costs?'

<-*ma*>

This is a general marker used to mark parts of a house, like: trees in example (16), universal phenomena: sky (17), universe (18), and long cylindrical parts: legs (19), fingers (20). The poly-semantic word like; /*la*/ 'arm or palm' (20) requires the marker as per the meaning of the word.

(16) *thima simako ekko kudza duijo*

thi -ma sima-ko ekko kudza du-ijo.

One -CF tree-LOC many branches be-NS/SH

'A tree has a lot of branches.'

(17) *Sansarko thima alo dzu duijo*

Sansar -ko thi -ma alo dzu du-ijo

World -LOC one -CF sky only be-NS/SH

'The world has only one sky.'

(18) *thima brahmandako ekko alo duijo*

thi-ma brahmanda-ko ekko alo du-ijo

one-CF universe -LOC many sky be-NS/SH

'A universe has many skies.'

(19) *thima sah ja pima kw duijo*

thi-ma sah -ja pi-ma kw du-ijo

one-CF pet-POS four-CF leg be-NS/SH

'An animal (A pet) has four legs.'

(20) *thiba / ma lako oma labdz / obdz duijo*

thi -ba / ma la -ko o-ma la -bdz / o-bdz du-ijo

one -CF /CF hand -LOC five-CF hand -finger/five-finger be-NS/SH

'A hand consists of five fingers.'

<-*ba*>

Flat objects like human organ (body parts) or face (21), mouth (22), nose (23), breast (24), palm (20), and wide constructions as balcony (25) marked with <-ba>.

(21) *kh thiba bālasini s no khise hemupho(>hempho)*

kh thi-ba bāla-sini s -no khise he-mu-pho

Face one-CF nice-CNS who-EMP criticize do-NEG-able

'No one can criticize a beautiful person.'

(22) *thiba twoko nhipa me dukari jana sangat he ma-dzi*

thi -ba two -ko nhi-pa me du-kari jana sangat he -ma -dzi

one -CF mouth -LOC two-CF tongue be-NML with company do -NEG-yes

'(We) should not keep in touch with a man with two tongues.'

(23) *thiba hiseko nhisma po: duijo*

thi-ba hise-ko nhis-ma po: du-ijo

one-CF nose-LOC two-CF hole be-NS/SH

'A nose consists of two nostrils.'

(24) *mana tsitsbh thiba duru m n jata thiba duru nuda tw nijo.*

ma -na tsitsa -bh thi -ba duru m n -jata, thi-ba duru nuda tw -ijo.

mama-ERG child-time one-CF breast brother-AD, one-CF breast to me feed-NS/SH

'My mother used to breast feed me and next to my brother.'

(25) *che thiba kausi du: bāla:*

che - thi -ba kausi du-u bāla:

house -LOC one -CF balcony be-NML nice-NS/SH

'A house with a balcony is nice.'

<pa>

Flat body parts like: tongue (22), nail (26), ear (27), objects: plate (28), wooden flakes (29), book (30), mat (31), bed (mattress) (32), window (33), entrance/door (34), door-pane, window (35) are marked with <-pa>. The poly-seminal / cover word like leg (36) 'leg or feet' is marked with both <-pa and -ma> according to the meaning it conveys in the context.

(26) *muntsheja lawaliwahena ni:pa kutshi duijo*

muntshe-ya la-wa li-wa hena ni:-pa kutshi du-ijo.

man-POS arm-LOC leg-LOC including 20-CF nail be-NS/SH

'A man has twenty nails including fingers and toes.'

(27) *nhipa nhisapuruna i:na thiba twona notuima:*

nhi-pa nhisapuru-na i:-na thi-ba two -na notu -i ma:

two-CF ear -INS hear-IMPVF one-CF maw-INS speak-INF need

'One should listen with two ears and speak with a mouth.'

(28) *muntshe-pinle-ja dza ni:ta ts r s-ja bh thipa thipa ma:*

munche-pinle-ja dza ni: -ta c r s-ja bh thi -pa thi -pa ma:
 man -each -ADV rice eat-PURP brass-POS disc one-CF one-CF need
 'Each one needs a brass plate to eat a meal.'

(29) *thiba tjal ti:ta nhipa mu:sɪ nhipa balcosɪ ma:*

thi -ba tjal ti: -ta nhi -pa mu:sɪ nhi -pa balcosɪ ma:
 one-CF tile put-for two-CF beam two-CF flips of wood need
 'To suspend a tile, two strips of wood and two beams are necessary.'

(30) *mamtjæ thiba tshugu duijo*

mam -tõ -ja thi-ba tshugu du-ijo
 Female-PL -GEN one-CF vagina be-SH
 'A lady should have a vagina.'

(31) *thipa bho:ko ekku pana duijo*

thi-pa bho:-ko ekku pana du-ijo
 one-CF book-LOC many page be-NS/SH
 'A book consists of many pages.'

(32) *khileko thipa suku ljae*

khile -ko thi -pa suku lja -e
 ground-LOC one -CF mat spread-IMP
 'Spread a mat in the ground.'

(33) *khatako thipa lasa du*

khata -ko thi -pa lasa du
cot -LOC one -CF mattress be

'There is a mattress over the cot.'

- (34) *thi tile ko pipa jhekha dasi ga:*

thi -tile -ko pi -pa jhekha da-si ga -:
One -storey -LOC four -CF window be-CND enough-NS/SH

'Four windows are sufficient in a storey.'

- (35) *tsheni-ko pi-pa l kha da-sini dzu-i-ta apkhuro*

tsheni -ko pi-pa lokha da-sini dzu-i -ta apkhuro
Ground floor-LOC four-CF door be-CND be-INF-for easy

'Four doors in the ground floor makes it easy to walk.'

- (36) *thima dzhekhako nhipa khapa duijo*

thi-ma jhekha -ko nhi-pa khapa du-ijo
one-CF window-LOC two-CF pane be-NS/SH

'A window has two panes.'

- (37) *muntsheja nhipa/nisma li duijo*

muntshe-ja nhi-pa / nis-ma li du-ijo
man -POS two- CF/ two- CF leg be-NS/SH

'A man has two legs.'

< -*gu* *gi* *i* :>

It is the default inanimate classifier which marks round and non-native objects, and fruits. The classifier <-gu> changes into <-gi> before the high front vowel <-i>, whereas, it changes into <- u> following the nasal sound, as in / sō- u kh dza/ 'three- CF eggs'. <-gi> is the vowel umlauting result of <-gu>, an inanimate classifier. / *thi:kh dza* / is the morphophonemic product of / *thi:gu kh dza* /. The process is shown in (38).

(38) *thi-gu kh dza* > *thi-u kh dza* (devocalization)

 >*thiikh dza* (umlauting)

 >*thi:kh dza* (Vowel coalescence)

Male genital organ (39), fruits (40, 41), round or likely: egg (42), garlic (43), potato (44), major beam (45) and nonnative things (46) are marked with <-gu>. (for proto type extension?)

(39) *babutō thi:pa du*

 babu -tō -ya thi-(i>): pa du

 boy -PL -GEN one-CF penis be

 'A boy has a penis.'

(40) *thi: suntala polana phukjato thibdz thibdz bo thari*

 thi- (i>): suntala pola-na phuk-jato thi-bidz thi-bidz botha-ri

 one-CF orange peel-IMPFV all-AD one-CF one-CF divide-3PST

 'They peel an orange and distribute a segment to each of them.'

(41) *nuda so u tusi nigima:*

 nuda so - u tusi ni -g -i -ma:

 To me three -CF cucumber eat -K -INF -need

'You should feed me three cucumbers.'

(42) *thi:/dzigi kh dza bi*

thi-(i>):/ dzi -gi kh dza bi -

one- CF / ten - CF eggs give -IMP

'Give (somebody) one / ten eggs.'

(43) *thi: lhabako polbh jibdz nalaejo*

thi-(i>): lhaba-ko pola-bh ji-bidz nala-ejo

one-CF garlic-LOC peel-time ten-CF meet-NS/SH

'A piece of garlic consists of ten segments.'

(44) *thi-: alu m*

thi-(i>): alu m -

one-CF potato boil -IMP

'Boil the potatoes.'

(45) *thi:nina:na suipa dh r buiphu*

thi-(i>): nina:-na sui -pa dh r bu -i -phu

one- CF beam-INS thirty- CF beam carry-INF-able

'A major beam can support thirty minor beams.'

(46) *thiba kothako so u dh r du*

thi-ba kotha-ko so- u dh r du

one-CF room-LOC three-CF beam be

'There are three beams in a room.'

(47) *gu:ko satstshigu dora kholma khogita ma:*

gu: -ko satstshi -gu dora kholma kho -g-i-ta ma:

Trust-LOC 100 -CF earthen vessel frozen meat freeze-K-INF-PURP need

'To prepare kholma³⁰ 100 bowls are necessary for the guthi feast.'

(48) *thi: : dheba dzigi haja*

thi: -(u>): dheba dzi-gi haj-a

one-CF coin ten-CF bring-IMP

'Give me 10 coins of 1 paisa denomination.'

<-pai>

Lumps of flesh (49), clay (50), brick / tiles (52) are marked with<-pai>.

(49) *thipai duru*

thi-pai duru

one-CF breast

'A lump of breast.'

(50) *dzes karina khi:ko dzipai ts p ri mhuna ka:*

dzes kari-na khi:-ko dzi -pa ts p ri mhu-na ka-:

worker-ERG field-LOC ten-CF grass plot dig-IMPFV take-PST

'A worker dig out ten lumps of grass plots.'

(51) *thitile tsh duta s tstshipai apa/taj l ma:*

³⁰ A meat preparation for which special type of buffalo meat is cooked till it converts into gravy. The gravy preparation is laid to freeze in a wide and big earthen bowl (dora). This is a necessary item in the feasts of the Newars. These days the Paharis are avoiding to claim themselves as Newars. Gu: or guthi is an organization, in which a feast is served on the anniversary of the organization. This types of traditional cultural food items in the Pahari society are still in practice which shows they were and are a component of the Newar society.

thi-tile tsh du1 -ta s tstshi-pai apa/ *taj* l ma:
 one-CF house construct-PRP hundred-CF brick / tile need

'To construct a storey of a house needs 100 pieces of bricks/ tiles.'

<- *po*:> marks packet (52, 53).

(52) *thipo: duru na duru mija*

thi-po: duru-na duru mi-ja
 one-CF breast-INS milk NEG-come

'A breast is milk less.'

(53) *thipo: gola haja*

thi-po: gola haja -ø
 one-CF betel leaf bring -IMP

'Bring me a pocket of beetle.'

In KN betel is served with <-be:> 'package'.

<-*gona* > marks the ir/regular shape of ball (54).

(54) *thigona tsa / tsaku*

thi-gona tsa / tsaku
 one-CF soil / molasses

'A ball of soil / molasses.'

<-*ka*> is used specially for firewood (55).

(55) *bhuspæ -ta sɪ dzi-ka ma:*

bhuspæ -ta sɪ dzi -ka ma:

Preparing food-PURP wood ten-CF need

'It needs ten strips of fire-wood to prepare dinner.'

<**-nu**> marks the day (56).

(56) *thinuko ni:pigh nta duijo*

thi-nu-ko ni:pi gh nta du-ijo

one-day-LOC 24 hour be-NS/SH

'One day consists of 24 hours.'

<**-kha**> categorizes the house (57).

(57) *thikha tsh ko nispa dzhekha du.*

thi-kha tsh -ko nis-pa dzhekha du

One-CF house-LOC two-CF window be

'A house has two windows.'

< **-phoe** >

A flower (58) or likely groceries are marked with <-phoe >

(58) *thiphoe sonoko ekko sonophra duijo.*

thi-phoe sono-ko ekko sono-phra du-ijo

one-CF flower-LOC many flower-CF be-NS/SH

'A flower consists of many petals.'

<**-tsha:**> refers meal(59).

(59) *thiphoe kauli d seni sotsha: ga:.*

thi-phoe	kauli	d -seni	so-tsha:	ga:
one-CF	cauliflower	be-CND	three-CF	enough:

'A (flower of) cauliflower is enough for three meals.'

b. Quasi classifiers

These are not overt expressions of unit counting, but are used to count unstructured units such as <-thu>', bunch, bundles'(Hale; 1986: xxxiv).

(i) General

Most of the nouns are changed into classifiers with due process of deletion of medial or final sound. Most of them are irregular in shape and size. <-ku:> 'piece', <-ku> 'load' <-ta > 'variety', <-tsa:> 'ring', <-twa> 'log', <-phra> 'strips', <-bij > 'finger', <- phri> 'drop' are the few examples.

<-**ku**:> piece(60) of groceries, meat.

(60) *thiku: ghasa ts h / muga:*

thi-ku	ghasa ts h /	mu-ga:
One-CF	meat excess /	NEG-enough

'A piece of meat is more/ not adequate.'

<-**ku**> refers load (61).

(61) *nu bu ni:ku ja la-ijo.*

nu bu-	ni:-ku ja	la-ijo.
--------	-----------	---------

my field-LOC 20-CF paddy come-NS/SH.

'Twenty loads of paddy are grown in my field.'

<-*ta*> Variety (62)

(62) *Puilo gu:ko bhoe ni:ta gu-ta l sa ma:.*

Puilo gu:-ko bhoe ni:-ta gu-ta l sa ma:

Pohela trust-LOC feast eat-PURP nine-CF dish need

'It needs nine varieties of dishes for Pohela guthi (a trust that arranges a feast in the month of January). '

<-*tsa*> is used for ring (63) like objects.

(63) *thitsa: tsaphra haja*

thi-tsa: tsaphra haja-ø

one-CF rim bring-IMP

'Bring a rim (of winnowing tray (of bamboo)).'

<-*twa*> Piece of log (64) is marked with <-*twa*>

(64) *thima simako ekko sitwa duijo*

thi-ma sima-ko ekko si-twa du-ijo

one-CF tree-LOC many wood-LOG be-NS/SH

'A tree can produce many logs.'

<-*phra*> Wooden steps and strips like structure imprint (65) are marked with <-*phra*>.

(65) *thiba soneko nhjaphra khoephra duijo*

thi-ba sone-ko nhja-phra khoe-phra du-ijo

one-CF ladder-LOC seven-CF imprint-CF be-NS/SH

'A ladder consists of seven steps.'

- (66) *Luttsa muntshejata thiphra liphra tshi:ta dziro biijo*

Luttsa muntshe-jata thi-phra liphra tshi: -ta dzi-d bi-ijo

Idle man -AD one-CF foot move -PURP ten-CF spend-NS/SH

'An idle man takes ten years to take a step ahead.'

<-*bij*> Finger (67), and segments (68) of a fruit are marked with <-*bij*>.

- (67) *Laja obdzi la utiha mijo*

La-ja o-bidz la uti-ha mi-ijo

hand-POS five-CF hand equal-length NEG-NS/SH

'All the fingers of a hand are not equal.'

- (68) *thi: suntalako gubidz / phra duijo*

thi: suntala-ko gu-bidz / phra du-ijo

one-CF orange-LOC nine-CF /CF be-NS/SH

'An orange consists of nine segments.'

<-*phri*>

A drop (70) of water or liquid is marked with <-phri>, a quasi classifier, that is an independent word as well as a bound morpheme. This is a derivation of <-phuti> 'drop', the process is shown in (69):

- (69) phuti > phuri (rotacization) > phri (syllabication).

- (70) *dhepuko lukhu thiphri kho mur :.*

dhepu-ko lukhu thi-phuri kho mur :.

Pitcher-LOC water one-CF EMPH NEG-be

'There is not even a drop of water in the pitcher.'

(ii) Mass: collective nouns can be considered as mass classifiers.

<-**k le**>

<-k le> refers to a big bundle (71) which consists of <-thu>, handful bundles (71).

(71) *thik le sudzako dzithu duijo*

thi-k le sudza-ko dzi-thu du-ijo

One-CF hay-LOC ten-CF be-NS/SH

'A bundle of hay consists of 10 small bundles.'

<-**kwa** > A bunch used to count for ginger (72) and turmeric.

(72) *thikwæ palo, thigona tsago, imu, ghe, tsitsma bu:mæta tsan hinu nigima:*

thi-kwæ palo, thi-gona tsago, imu, ghe, tsitsma bu:mæ-ta

one-CF ginger, one-CF molasses, lovage, butter, baby giver-DAT

tsan hinu ni -g -i -ma:

night day eat -K -INF -need

A newly mother should be fed a bulk of ginger, a ball of molasses, lovage (Scientific name: *Trachyspermum Amni*), butter, daily.

<-**thu**>

It is a quasi classifier that conveys the small bundles or bunches of shrub and its product like vegetables, or a broom (73).

(73) *manpudzajata sothu tuf ma:*

Manpuja	-jata	so	-thu	tuf	ma:
brother-worshipping	-AD	three	-CF	broom	need

'Three bundles of broom are needed for the festival of brothers.'

<-**dh**> 'pop' (74) is marked with <-dh>.

(74) *nuda k khu -ta i: o-dh solsi ma:*

nuda	k	khu	-ta	i: o-dh	solsi	ma:
me	curry	prepare-PURP	25-CF	bean	need	

'I need twenty-five pods of bean to prepare curry.'

<-**dzu**> marks inanimate pair (75, 76)

(75) *nuda thi-dzu leg w thidzu modza bulai bi*

nuda	thi-dzu	leg	w	thi-dzu	modza bula-i	bi-
To me	one-CF	shoes	and	one-CF	shocks bring-INF	give-IMP

'Bring me a pair of shoes and a pair of shocks.'

(76) *badzajata thidzu w so dan bi*

badzja-jata	thi-dzu	w so dan	bi	-
Brahmin-DAT	one-CF	cloth alms	give	-IMP

Give the alms of a pair of clothes to the Brahmin.

<-**dzo**> marks the animate or a pair of upper garments or window panes.

(77) *bu thidzo sa wæ.*

bu - thi-dzo sa wa -e

Field -LOC one-CF cow plough-IMP

'Plough a pair of oxen in the field.'

(78) *thidzo khapa tabi.*

thi-dzo khapa ta -bi

one-CF pane put -give

'Set a pair of door-pane'

<-*hul* / *b than*> is a mass marking animate classifier (79, 80).

(79) *thi b than phitsula /swama lai.*

thi-b than phitsula /swama lai-u

one-CF sheep/bees come-PST

'A flock/swarm of sheep/bees came.'

(80) *thi hul/b than muntshe/sipa tshe th lai-u.*

thi-hul/b than muntshe/sipa tshe - th lai-u

one-CF man/soldiers house -LOC arrive-PST

'A group of men/soldiers arrived in the house.'

<-*dzor*>/<-*than*>

These are borrowed classifiers from Nepali, mark the pair (81) of objects by the <-*dzor*> and the roll (81) of the clothes by <-*than*>.

(81) *thi than kagoko ekko dzor w so suite gjæjo*

thi-than kago-ko ekko-dzor w so su -i -ta gjæ -ejo

One-CF cloth-LOC many-CF cloth sew-INF-PUR enough-NS/SH

'A roll of cloth is enough to produce many pieces of clothes.'

(iii) Measure classifiers:

These are not units of counting, but rather units of measuring (Hale; 1986: xxxiv).

<-*dhu-tshi*>

It conveys the meaning of 'a measurement of the spinal cord' or an area of a location. In (82) it means the whole area of a human body, whereas in (82) it conveys the meaning of an area of a shop as well as a market.

(82) *muntshejatha mh dhutshiu s tstshi mi duima:.*

muntshe-ja -tha mh dhu-tshi-u s tstshi mi du-i ma:

Person-GEN -ALL body CF-one-EMP 100 eye be-INF need

'A person should keep eyes around on hundreds of things.'

(83) *badzar/pusadhutshi mhala dzuna kho u tsij na: mula.*

badzar/pusa dhu-tshi mhala dzu-na kho u tsij na: mu-la

market/shop CF-one search be-IMPV also this thing meet NEG-lie

'S/he could not find these things even after searching the whole market.'

Sentences (84, 85, 86 and 87) convey the meaning of duration. (85) is borrowed.

(84) *Lithija dze s bh gjaja dheba mija*

li-thi-ja dze s bh gjaja -ja dheba mi-ja.

mth-one-POS work act CNS sufficient-ADV money NEG-come

's/he does not have sufficient money even after working for a whole month.'

(85) *bh d u lithija burburwa djo pudzahejo.*

bh d u li -thi-ja bur burwa djo pudza he-jo.

Bhadra month-one-POS Wednesday RDP god worship do-NS/SH

It is a custom of worshipping the god each Wednesday during the month of Bhadra.

(86) *tsatshirija w ina kho g mapuli*

tša-tshiri-ja w -i-na kho g ma-puli

night-one-POS go-NPT-IMPV CNS forest NEG-cross

'It is hard to cross the forest area even if (we) walk through the whole night.'

(87) *bikha-bh r-ja wa ija-na kho bu- ja-jata lukhu mu-ga*

bikha -bh r -ja wa ija -na kho bu - ja-jata lukhu mu-ga

Summer-DUR-ADV rain come-EMP CNS field-LOC paddy-AD water NEG-enough

'There is insufficient water for plantation even after rainfall of a whole summer.'

<-tile> marks storey (88, 89) of a house

(88) *thitleko dzipa th si du*

thi -tile-ko dzi-pa th si du

one -CF-LOC ten-CF pillars COP

'A flat has ten pillars.'

(89) *kukudeja pihija tsh nisitile duijo*

kukude-ja pihi-ja tsh nisi-tile du-ijo

Kodku-POS Pahari-GEN house two-CF be-NS/SH

'The Pahari houses of Kodku generally have two stories.'

<-*khora*> is a container 'bowl' which measures the volume.

(90) *thikhora*³¹ *irana u muntshe matte dzu*

thi-khora	ira-na	u	muntshe	matte dzu
one-CF	liquor-ERG	this	person	mad be

'This person has become drunk from a bowl of alcohol.'

<-*muntshe*> depth is measured with the height of a man as a unit (91)

(91) *nu tshe h rkhe t piusa muntshe taha du*

nu tshe	h rkhe	t	pi-u-sa	muntshe taha du
my house	in front of	well	four-A-CF	man long COP

'The well near my house is as deep as four men.'

<-*dadu/panju*> it is a container 'ladle/ spoon' by which food is served.

(92) *nuda nisi dadu/panju dal bi*

nuda	nisi dadu/ panju	dal / dza	bi-
To me	two-ladle /spoon	pulse/rice	give-IMP

'Give me two ladles/table spoons of pulse/rice.'

10.1.2 Verbal Classifiers

Verbal classifiers are marked on the verb, but they categorize a noun, which typically in S (Intransitive Subject) or O (direct object) function, in terms of its shape, consistency, and animacy (Brown; 1981:96). (Aikhenvald; 2000:3). The structure of verb classifier is *Numeral-CF-verb*.

³¹ Khora is a metal bowl that measures six pegs of alcohol. It varies in size and shape according to the purpose.

<-*thu*>

- (93) *nuda huna thithu da:*

nuda hu-na thi-thu da-:

To me 3-ERG one-CF bit-PST

'He bet me a blow.'

- (94) *huna golina thi thu tsa:*

hu-na goli-na thi-thu tsa -:

3-ERG foot-INS one-CF kick -PST

'He kicked a kick (with a leg).'

- (95) *ghu na bhi:/dho: jata thitu kutska:*

ghu -na bhi:/dho:- jata thi-thu kucka-:

Tiger-ERG cat/jackal-AD one-CF kick-PST

'A tiger attacked a cat / jackal.'

- (96) *lōwadzu (lōdzuwa:)kata mugana thithu korpa:*

lō-wa-dzu-kata (lōdzuwa:) muga-na thi-thu korpa -:

Path-LOC-walk-AD (passer by) monkey-ERG one-CF scratch-PST

'A monkey scratched the passerby.'

- (97) *ba:na purojata thiu bo:biu*

ba:-na puro-jata thi-u bo: bi-u

father-ERG son-DAT one-CF scold give-PST

'The father scolded his son.'

<-*pu*> refers to frequency of action.

(98) *taira w soko nhipu so-pu sabuna gi.*

taira w	so-ko	nhi-pu	so-pu	sabu-na	gi-
white cloth-LOC		two-CF	three-CF	soap-ERG	rub-IMP.

'Rub 2/3 times a soap bar in white-cloth.'

10.2 Summary

The classifiers of Pahari are similar to Newar. The general characteristics of classifier are suffixed to form noun phrase quantifier. In Pahari the structure of a quantifier is *numeral-classifier-headword*. The classifier can be classified into *numeral* and *verbal*. Numeral classifier is subdivided into *true* and *quasi*. True classifier can be further divided into *animate* versus *inanimate*. Quasi classifiers can be further divided into *general*, *mass* and *measure*.

Special morphemes which only appear next to a numeral or a quantifier may categorize the referent of a noun in terms of its animacy, shape, and other inherent properties. These are Numeral classifiers. The structure of a numeral classifier is *Numeral-classifier-Noun*.

True classifiers are overt expressions of unit counting used with reference to structured units that are normally counted as individuals. Their choice is governed by the membership of the head in one or another of the quantifier class. They individuate head nouns that are indeterminate for number. They have no reality outside the numeral expression, i.e. true classifiers do not have independent meanings.

Many of the inanimate classifiers are selected on the bases of a shape-based classification of the head word. It includes <-pu> 'long and cylinder', <-ma> 'plant or general', <-ba> 'flat', <pa> 'flat human organs', <-gu> 'fruits', <-pai> 'lump', <-po:> 'Package, hole', <gona> 'ball', <-ka> 'flips', <-ca:> 'ring', <-nu> 'day', <-kha> 'residence', <-phoe> 'flower'.

These are not overt expressions of unit counting, but are used to count unstructured units such as <-thu>', bunch, bundles'. Most of the nouns are changed into classifiers with due process of deletion of medial or final sound. Most of them are irregular in shape and size. <-ku:> 'piece', <-ku> 'load' <-ta> 'variety', <-ca:> 'ring', <-twa> 'log', <-phra> 'flips', <-bij> 'finger', <-phri> 'drop' are few examples. Collective nouns can be considered as mass classifiers. Measure classifiers are not units of counting, but rather units of measuring.

Verbal classifiers: appear on the verb, but they categorize a noun, which typically is an S (intransitive subject) or an O (direct object) function, in terms of its shape, consistency, and animacy. The structure of a verb classifier is *numeral-classifier-verb*.

Human nonhuman distinction is found only in the Pahari dialect of Newar in contrast with the standard dialect.

9.2 Summary

Addition of suffix <-ejya> to the adjective stem is the commonest derivation found in Pahari. Addition of <-ka> suffix for adjectival derivation is rare in practice. Four functional demonstrative pronouns are in use: proximate to addressor (A1), proximate to addressee (A2), distal (D), and remote(R). Pronominal derived adjective can be subcategorized into the following sub-classes: Manner, quantity, anaphoric, comparative, temporal, location, reason, frequency, and classifier.

CHAPTER 11

PARTICLES AND POSTPOSITIONS

11.0 Outline

This chapter deals with Particles and postpositions including emphatics in the Pahari. In section 11.1 we deal with the clause structure. In section 11.2 we discuss the noun phrase. Section 11.3 deals with verbal sequences of the language. Section 11.4 deals with Agreement pattern. In section 11.5 we deal with major sentence types. In section 12.6 we examine clause combining. We summarize the chapter in section 11.7.

11.1 Particles and postpositions

According to Joshi; (1984:173) particles, the indeclinable, minor parts of speech are free in form and occur after major or minor parts of speech, including particles themselves. The following are the types of particles: (i) Emphatic (ii) Conjunctive (iii) Quotative (iv) Expletive (v) Negative (vi) Prohibitive (vii) Benedctive (viii) Determinative (ix) Exclamatory (x) Hortative (xi) Imitative (xii) Responsive (xiii) Vocative (xiv) Question tags (xv) Interrogative (xvi) Honorific (xvii) Intensifier (xviii) Sentence qualifier (xix) Idiomatic.

We have categorized the particles on the bases of their functions in sentences into three main categories:

- a. Emphatics
- b. Post positions, and
- c. Particles

11.1.1 Emphatics

An emphatic particle is one of the emphasizing devices (Malla; 1985:102). A few emphatics are listed with English gloss.

<*akhirko*> 'finally'

(1) *akhirko Ramna h tsh eu*

akhir-ko Ram-na h tsh e-u

Last-LOC Ram-ERG DIST house buy-3PST

Ultimately, Ram bought that house.

<*-bh*> refers to moment of work.

(2) *ga: mhunatu wæbh djo nala-na-tu j u*

ga: mhu-na-tu w -ja-bh djo nala-na-tu j -u

pit dig-IMPV-EMP go-IMPV-EMP God open-IMPV-EMP come-3PST

'As (one) started to dig out the pit the idol began to appear.'

(3) *tapa djojata pudza heubh nhjapu ira: tigima:*

Tapæ djo-jata pudza he-u bh nhja-pu ira: ti -g -i ma:

Of far God-AD worship do-NML while seven-CF wick lit -K -INF need

'One should light seven strands of cotton wick to Goddess Harati.'

<*-gu*>

This is a connective used in four ways: a) as a classifier, b) as a determinant, c) as a nominalizer, and d) as an agreement marker. In sentence (4) *simana kunu-gu* (Tree-ABL

down-DET) is a determinant that conveys the meaning of 'one fallen from the tree', not others. In (5) *bālyæ igu* (nice come-DET) focuses on 'with clear picture' not others. (4 and 5) are topicalized sentences, in which 'the fallen one' and 'with clear picture' are emphasized respectively.

(4) *simana kunuu muga*

sima-na	kunu-(g)u	muga
Tree-ABL	fall-NML	monkey

'The monkey fell from the tree.'

(5) *bāljæ iu TV gh ra:?*

bāljæ	i-(g)u	TV	gh	ra:
nice	come-NML	TV	which	PART

'Which is the TV with a clear picture?'

<**dzu**> confines to the area of speech.

(6) *sansarko thima alo dzu duijo*

sansar-ko	thi-ma	alo dzu	du-ijo
world-LOC	one-CF	sky EMP	be-NS/SH

'The world has only one sky.'

<**ka**> draws the attention of a listener.

(7) *dzi bho: bōita iskulp ti w dzu ka*

dzi bho: bõ -i -ta iskol -p ti w - dzu ka
 1SG book read-INF-PURP school-DTC go-1SG.NPST be EMP

'I would go to school to study.'

<**-ni**> 'yet to happen'

(8) *bo:lamh sipahi mukh ini*

bo:-mha sipahi mu-kh -i ni
 strong-NOM soldier NEG-see-INF EMP

'A strong soldier is yet to be seen.'

<**-no**> 'also'

It is an emphatics with consonant length, in which /su/ 'who' is emphasized with lengthening of the consonant, ergative marker <-n> followed by <-no> is as an emphatic. /s no/ is the product of /su-n-no/. The process can be shown as:

su-no > su-n-no (lengthening of the following sound <-n>)

> s no (regressive assimilation)

(9) *kh thiba bālasini s no khise hempho*

kh thi-ba bāla-sini su -n -no khise he-mu-pho
 Face one-CF nice-CND who-ERG-EMP criticize do-NEG-able.

'No one can criticize a beautiful person.'

<**ra**> 'as for' draws attention of the listener towards the speaker(10,11).

(10) *ma gwar bāla: ra*

ma gwar bāla: ra
 mother Q nice PART

'How beautiful mother is!'

(11) *h muntsheja kh ghireja khikhirha ra*

h	muntshe-ja	kh	ghire-ja	khikhirha	ra
DIST	man-GEN	face	how-ADV	dark	EMP

What a dark complexion s/he has!

Sometimes it seeks information (12, 13 and 14).

(12) *tsatsiri gusara (du)?*

tsatsiri	gu-sa	ra	(du)
Children	what-CF	EMP	COP

'How many children do you have?'

(13) *tshi gh thana laja ra?*

tshi	gh	tha-na	laja	ra
2S	where-ABL	come	EMP	

'Where are you from?'

(14) *dhaulhoheo: gh tha ra*

dhaulho	he-u:	gh	tha	ra
dhaulho	say-NML	where	EMP	

'Where is Dhaulho?'

<-t > 'same as'

(15) *khont w ari / henat la:ri*

kho-na t w -a-ri / he-na t la-:-ri
 cry-IMPV EMP go-A-3PST/ narrate-IMPV EMP go-A-3RPST
 'Someone came / went crying / narrating all the way.'

(16) *henat lari*

he-na t la-ri
 say- IMPV EMP go-RPST
 'Someone went on narrating.'

<u> 'that very'

(17) *h na bho:u eu*

h -na bho: u e-u
 3S-ERG book EMP buy-3PST
 'It is the very book that Ram bought.'

11.1.2 Postposition

Table 11.1: Post positions in semantic space

Number

<-dza>	'kinship'
<-kari >	'professionals'
<-si>	'human'
<-t >	'general'

Case

<-ko>	'locative'
-------	------------

<- <i>na</i> >	'ergative'
<- <i>nhise</i> >	'ablative'
<- <i>tilja</i> >	'up to'
<- <i>ta</i> >	'accusative'
<- <i>tha</i> >	'allative'
<- <i>ja</i> >	'genitive /possessive'
<- <i>jata</i> >	'dative'

Classifiers

<- <i>mha</i> >	'person'
-----------------	----------

Deictic

< <i>dhine</i> >	'up'
< <i>koso</i> >	'down'
< <i>tako</i> >	'beneath'
< <i>ho:</i> >	'before'
< <i>horkhe</i> >	'in front of'
< <i>lumkhe</i> >	'back'
< <i>j mpa</i> >	'right'
<- <i>patti</i> >	'towards'

Conditional

<- <i>sini</i> >	'if' (Hale and Shrestha 2006:101)
------------------	-----------------------------------

Post positions are categorized as the markers of: i) Number ii) Case iii) Classifier iv) deictic v) Logical vi) Modality vii) Temporal viii) comparison ix) others

a. Number

<-*dza*> 'Kinship'

(18) *m n dza simako dzha:ri*

m n -dza sima-ko dzha:-ri

brother / sister-PL tree-LOC climb-A-3RPST

'The brother / sisters climbed the tree.'

<-*kari*> 'locals and professionals'

(19) *h tha tsula bhur kari du*

h tha tsula -bhur -kari du

There she goat-herd -PL COP

'There is a goat-merchant.'

(20) *g ja dhabakata manehe ma:*

g -ja dhaba-ka-ta man-e he ma:

village-GEN seniors-PL-AD respect-INF do need.

'One should respect the seniors of the village.'

<-*si*> marks human categories like: kinship, honoured name, designation and pronoun.

(21) *basimasi na heo dze terehema:*

ba-si ma -si -na he-o dze ter -e -he ma:

father-PL mother-PL-ERG say-NML work obey-INF-do need

'One should obey parents (saying).'

(22) *tasikari djoko iu*

ta -si-kari djo -ko i -u

Elder sister-PL-PL God -LOC come-PST.

'Elder sisters came to the temple.'

(23) *dzudzusita p hila djo pudza hema:*

dzudzu -si -ta p hila djo pudza he ma:

king-PL -AD first God worship do need

'The king should be worshipped first.'

(24) *hakimsita n m skar he.*

hakim-si -ta n m skar he-ø .

officer-PL-AD salute do-IMP

'Salute the officers.'

(25) *bhai / nanisi gh tha w i ta dzuja ra*

bhai / nani -si gh tha w -i -ta dzu-ja ra

brother / lady -PL where go-INF-PURP be-1PST PART

'Gentleman / lady! Where are you going to?'

(26) *bhadzu/babusi si mh na phu.*

bhadzu/babu-si mh -na phu

gentleman-PL body-ERG able

'Gentleman! Are you all right?'

(27) *gurusita manehema:*

guru-si -e -ta man -e -he ma:

guru-PL-GEN-DAT respect-NAT-do need

'The gurus should be respected.'

/guru/'teacher (27) is their respectable persons, in the changing socio-political scenario, they are beginning to treat as general people, which is represented by <*t*> a general plural marker.

<-*t*> 'plural in general'

(28) *khaitsat hal ri*

khaitsa -t hal- -ri

chicken-PL cry-A -3RPST

'The chicken cried.'

b. Case

<-*ko*> 'locative'

(29) *m n dza simako dzhau.*

m n -dza sima-ko dzha -u

Brother-PL tree-LOC climb-3PST

'The brothers climbed the tree.'

<*laiko*> 'for'

(30) *soroja laiko l gam e:ma:*

soro-ja lai-ko l gam e -: ma:
horse-GEN for-LOC bridle buy-INF need

'A bridle should be bought for horse ridding.'

<-*na*> 'ergative for agentive, instrumental and ablative'

(31) *h na tsithi tso:ri*

h -na tsithi tso: -ri
3-ERG letter write-3RPST

'S/he wrote a letter.'

(32) *na lobo-na dze su .*

na lobo-na dze su -
PRO DROP tool-INS work move -1NPST

'I work with the instruments.'

(33) *nhja:na w so go : ri*

nhja:-na w so go - : - ri
sun-ERG cloth dry -A - 3RPST

'The sun dried the cloth.'

(34) *Simana muga kunu*

Sima-na muga kun - -ri
Tree-ERG monkey down-A-3RPST

'The monkey fell down from a tree.'

< **hhise** > 'from'

(35) *tsh na nhise uthaethaa d s kos du*

tsh -na -nhise u -thae -thae d s kos du.

house-ABL-from this-place-place ten kos COP

'It is 20 miles distance from home to this place. (1kos = 2miles).'

<**nhise-tilja**> 'from-to'

(36) *sunth nhise bhonth tilja bho: bōima:*

sunth -nhise bhonth -tilja bho: bō -i ma:

morning-from evening-upto book read-INF need

'One should study from morning to evening.'

(37) *S hidgetnhise Ratnaparktilja dzam (du)*

S hidget -nhise Ratnapark-tilja dzam (du)

Martyr's gate-from Ratna park-upto jam COP

'The traffic from martyr's gate to Ratna Park is tight.'

<**tilya**> 'up to'

(38) *Metsi nnise mahakali tilja Nepal khiu:.*

Metsi-nhise mahakali-tilja Nepal khiu:

Mechi-from Mahakali-upto Nepal COP

'Nepal extends from Mechi to Mahakali.'

<**-ta**> 'accusative'

(39) *h na thuto da:ri*

h -na thu -to da -: -ri

3-ERG self -AD hit-A-3PST

'S/he hit him/herself.'

<-*tha*> 'place'

(40) *nutha dheba du*

nu-tha dheba du

I-place money COP

'I have money.'

(41) *m n tha lai u.*

m n -tha lai -u

brother-ALL come-3PST

'Someone came to (meet) brother.'

(42) *tsh tha tsibi du*

tsh -tha tsibi du

You-ALL knife COP

'Do you have a knife?'

<-*ya*> 'genitive /possessive'

(43) *h ja bu tapa:*

h -ja bu tapa-:

3-POS field far-SH

'His /her land is far away.'

<-*jata*> 'anti/dative'

(44) *ramna h jata da:ri*

ram-na	h - jata	da:-ri
Ram-ERG	s/he-AD	hit-A-3PST
'Ram hit him.'		

C. Classifiers

<-*mha*>

It is the animate marker. *muntshe* 'person' in (45), *h* 's/he' in (46) and *bāljæ dze so:mha* 'the good field worker'(47) are animates.

(45) *sunth dza neumha muntshe laumulja.*

sunth	dza	ne-u	-mha	munche	lau	mu-lja
morning	rice	eat-NML-CF	man		comeback	NEG-come

'The man who ate rice in the morning did not come.'

(46) *nura bo biumha h : khiu.*

nu-ra	bo	bi-u	-mha	h :	khiu
1-DAT	scold	give-A-NML/CF		DIST	COP

'S/he is the man who scolded me.'

(47) *bua bāljæ dze so:mh mijani.*

bu-(g)a	bāljæ	dze	so:-mha	mi -ja	ni
field-LOC	nice	work	act-CF/NML	NEG -come	PART

'A good labourer in the field is yet to come.'

d. Deictic

< *khe* > 'hither'

(48) *Pikha tsh khe nu du*

pi -kha ch khe nu du

Four-CF house hither 1 cop

'My house is the fourth one (from there).'

< *d h* > 'inside'

(49) *tsh ja d h lae*

tsh -ja d h la -e

house-POS inside come-IMP

'come inside the house.'

< *detsa* > 'left'

(50) *nu detsap tti nanija tsh du*

nu detsa-p tti nani-ja ch du.

1S left-towards sister-GEN house COP

'The sister's house is left of me.'

< *dhine* > 'above'

(51) *dzhekha ja dhine dzhu a du.*

dzhekha -ja dhine dzhu a du

window-POS above bird COP

'A bird is above the window.'

< **h khe** > 'there'

(52) *nhikha ch h khe w .*

nhi-kha tsh h khe w - ø

two-CF house there go-IMP

'Pass the two houses!'

<**dz mpa**> 'right'

(53) *nu dz mpa p tti tsebaja tsh du*

nu dz mpa -p tti tseba-ja tsh du

1s right -towards uncle-GEN house COP

'The uncle's house is on my right.'

<**kosotso**> 'down'

(54) *l kha ja kosotso sono du.*

l kha-ja kosotso sono du

door-POS down flower COP

'A flower is just below the gate.'

<**-le**> 'after'

(55) *bho: tsonale d : kh i i*

bho: tso-na-le d : kh -i- i

book write- IMPFV -PPOS error see-INF-1RPST

'I found errors as I began to write.'

<**lumkhe**> 'back'

(56) *nu lumukhe m n du.*

nu lumukhe m n du
1s in front of brother COP

'The brother is at the back of me.'

< **ho:** > 'ago'

(57) *na lithi ho: ja pi i.*

na lithi ho: ja pi - i
1 a month ago paddy plant-RPST

'I planted paddy a month ago.'

< **horkhe**> 'in front of'

(58) *nu horkhe ba du.*

nu horkhe ba du
1s in front of father COP

'The father is in front of me.'

<-**p tti**> 'towards'

(59) *kukude j na purbapatti la:.*

kukude j -na purba-patti la -:
Kodku Kathmandu-ABL East-DTC lie-SH

'Kodku lies to the East of Kathmandu.'

<**pih**> 'outside'

(60) *tsh ja pih duga du.*

tsh -ja pih duga du
house-POS outside goat COP
'A goat is outside the house.'

<*tako*> 'beneath'

(61) *hasaja tako dzai du.*

hasa -ja tako dzai du
winnowing tray-POS beneath rice COP
'The rice is beneath the winnowing tray.'

<*th sotso*> 'upward'

(62) *dzhekhaja th sotso polo du.*

dzhekhaja th sotso polo du
window-POS upward roof COP
'The roof is above the window.'

e. Logical

<-*sini*> 'if'

In (63, 64, 65) <-sini> works both for conditional (CND) and concessive (CNS) as per condition. In (63, 64) it works as a conditional, whereas It is concessive in (65).

(63) *nu-tha ekk ror dheba du:sini tsh etjæ.*

nu-tha ek-k ror dheba du-: -sini tsh e -tjæ

me-ALL one-10billion money be-NML-CND house buy-ready

'If I were a billionaire, I would buy a house.'

(64) *l d sini mot r ekko ts l-e dzuijo*

l d -sini mot r ekko ts l -e dzu-ijo

way be-CND motor plenty move-NAT be-SH

'If there is a road, many vehicles will ply.'

(65) *Pjartol mur : sini mot r ts le dzui miijo.*

Pjartol mu-r : -sini mot r ts l -e dzu -i mi-ijo

Petrol NEG-be -CNS motor move-NAT be -INF NEG-SH

'A vehicle cannot move without petrol. '

f. Modality

<*ma:*> 'need'

(66) *m hina maphutilja t l b pits i ma:*

m hina ma-phu -tilja t l b pi -ts -i ma:

month NEG-finish -upto salary wait -stay -INF need

'One should wait till the end of month for the salary.'

<*tj*> 'ready to'

(67) *w i tj u*

w -i tj -u

go-INF ready-3PST

'It was ready to go.'

g. Temporal

<*b je*> 'o'clock'

(68) *tsarb dze skul tshutti dzuijo.*

tsar-b dze skul tshutti dzu-ijo

Four-strike school leave be-NSSH

'The school closes at 4 o'clock.'

<*berkiu*> 'as soon as'

(69) *kh i berkiu bo:biu*

kh -i berkiu bo: bi -u

See-INF as soon as abuse give-3PST

'S/he scolded him as soon as (he) met.'

(70) *heberkiu w ima:.*

he berkiu w -i ma:

say as soon as go-INF need

'One should go as soon as he is ordered.'

<*dzha*> 'moment'

(71) *m n pudza dzhako ja læjo.*

m n pudza dzha -ko ya la-ejo

brother worshipping time-LOC paddy cut-NSSH

'Paddy harvests take place around the time of brother worshipping (October).'

h. Comparative

<**th**> 'as'

(72) *h th mu o*

h th mu- o

3S as NEG-stay

'S/he is not similar to him.'

i. Other

<**pilinæ**> 'each'

(73) *muntshe pilinæ kh pjæjo.*

muntshe pilinæ kh pja-ejo

person each thing differ-SH

'A thing has to differ from person to person.'

11.1.3 Particle

Particles can be categorized of following types: a) abusive b) affirmative c) benedictive d) hortative e) Inchoative f) interrogative g) negative h) pathetic i) quotative j) vocative

a. Abusive

<**dhikkar**>

(74) *dhikkar! tsula dzu ra u*

dhikkar! tsula dzu ra u

hell! what be EMP this

'Hell! What happened to it?'

b. Affirmative

<ka sa> 'ok'

(75) *ka sa ! dzi la:ni h i.*

ka sa ! dzi la:-ni h i

ok! 1S go-1PST EMP

'Ok! I am going.'

c. Benedictive

<h eresiba> 'o god'

(76) *heresib ! gwara dukh biu r*

heresib ! gwara dukh bi-u r

O God! How much trouble give-3PST 1PL/2 PST

'O God! How much trouble have you given!'

<he> 'o'

(77) *he djo-ja tsula dzu ra u.*

he djo-ja tsula dzu ra u

o God-GEN what be EMP this

'O God! What happened to this?'

<syabas> 'bravo'

(78) *syabas ! tsh bālæ dze sōu na.*

syabas ! tsh bālæ -e dze sō -u na

bravo! house nice -ADV work move-NML 2PST

'Bravo! You did well.'

d. Hortative

<*go*> 'let's go'

(79) *nuna nau nau go.*

nu-na nau nau go

1-with together RDP go

'Let us go together. (You must go with me).'

(80) (*nuna*) *go.*

nu-na go

1-with go IMP

'Let us go (inclusive).'

e. Inchoative

<*tari*> 'ready to'

(81) *dzagir dzui tari.*

dzagir dzu-i tari

Job be-INF ready

'He is ready to be employed.'

f. Interrogative

<*le*> 'interrogative'

(82) *u ghire ra le?*

u ghirera le?

This how EMP

'How did it happen?'

g. Negative

< **h** > 'negation'

(83) *h ! dzi w makhi:.*

h ! dzi w ma-khi:

no ! 1S go NEG-COP

'No! I do not go.'

<**h t**>

(84) *h t! kudzu.*

h t kudzu

go away, dog.

'Go away ! (dog).'

(85) *h t ! herædzunu he ra!*

h t ! heræ-dzu nu he ra!

hey! saying-be EMP say EMP!

Hey! Is this the way to speak?

<**i: tshya**>

(86) *I: tshja! so:makhi:*

I: tshja ! so: ma-khi

o! look NEG-COP

'Oh! How disgusting?'

<*iss*>

(87) *iss tshã khæ du ra.*

iss tshã kha-u du ra

iss 2S see-NML COP EMP

'Oops! Have you seen?'

<*uss*>

(88) *uss! tsula heo r u.*

uss! tsula heo r u

uss! what say 1/2PL this

'Oops! What is this?'

h. Pathetic

< *ija* > 'painful response'

(89) *ija mina go:.*

ija mi-na go-:

o fire-INS burn-3PST

'Ouch! it has caught fire.'

<*aka*>

(90) *aka! Go:tillo ka.*

aka! Go: tillo ka

aka! Felt down EMP

'Oh I am sorry! You fell down.'

<*tsts*>

(91) *tsts , bits ra u se-u*

cc , bic ra u se-u

oh! Poor this die-3PST

'Oh! This poor guy died.'

<*oomph*> 'sigh'

(92) *oomph, tola th dzja thakurō ra*

oomph, tola th dzja thakurō ra

oomph, hill climbing difficult EMP

'Oomph, climbing a hill is a tough job!'

<*naj*> 'let it be '

(93) *naj ! dzi la .*

naj ! dzi la -

let it be! I come -NPST

'Anyway, I will come home.'

<*ra le*> 'attentive'

(94) *na cula he ra le*

na cula he ra le

ERG what do EMP EMP

'What should I do?'

<*uhu*> 'pain'

(95) *uhu:!/ ghire a si-u ra*

uhu: ghire a si -u ra

uhu: how pain -3PST EMP

'Ouch! How painful it is!'

i. Quotative

<*h*> 'quote'

(96) *s m ko ni:ma: h*

s m -ko ni: ma: h

Time-LOC eat need QT

It is said, one should take food timely.

<*hã*> 'quote'

(97) *h kana netatata ghus niima: hã*

h -kana neta-ta-ta ghus ni-i ma: hã

3S-ERG leader-PL-AD bribe eat-INF need QT

'He told the leaders that they should take bribes.'

<*hena*> 'quotative'

(98) *h na dzagir ne hena heu.*

h -na dzagir ne hena he-u

3S-ERG service eat QT say-PST

'He said that he will serve.'

j. Vocative

<e> 'o'

(99) *E Ram! ljae*

E Ram ljae

o Ram come

O Ram! Come!

11.2 Summary

Pahari particles can be categorized into emphatics, post positions and particles. Post position can be further divided into nine sub-units namely: number, case, classifier, deictic, logical, modality, temporal, and comparative. Particles are categorized into: abusive, affirmative, benedictive, hortative, inchoative, interrogative, negative, pathetic, quotative, and vocative.

CHAPTER 12

SYNTAX

12.0 Outline

This chapter deals with syntax in the Pahari language. In section (12.1) we deal with the clause structure. Noun phrase in section (12.2); Verbal sequences of the language in section (12.3), Agreement pattern in section (12.4). Major sentence types in section (12.5); Clause combining in section (12.6) and we summarize the chapter in Section (12.7).

12.1 The clause structure

In this section we discuss the basic clauses and examine their constituent order.

12.1.1 Basic clauses

On the bases of functional elements like subject (S), verb (V), object (O), complement(C) and adverbials (ADV). There are seven types of basic clauses. The basic word order is SOV.

SV

(1) *dzi d :*

dzi di-

I sleep-1NPST

'I sleep.'

SOV

(2) *na dza n :*

na dza ni-

I rice eat-1NPST

'I eat rice'

SOOV

(3) *Ramna m n jat bho: biuri.*

Ram-na m n -yat bho: bi -u-ri

Ram-ERG brother-DAT book give -A-3PST

'Ram gave brother a book.'

SC (V)

(4) *h muntshe gelpō (du)*

h munche gelpō du

that person Fear COP

'S/he is frightful.'

SAAV

(5) *alo gwara tsurik (d) u*

alo gwara tsurik - (d) u

Sky Q much bright - (COP) PST

'What a bright sky (is)!'

SAV

(6) *ma gwar bāla:ra.*

ma gwar bāla: ra

mother Q nice PART

'How beautiful mother is!'

SOAV

(7) *kukudejakarina mohanjata pudzari he ri.*

Kukude-ja-kari-na Mohan-jata pudzari he- -ri

Kodku-POS men-ERG Mohan-DAT priest do-A-3PST

'The People of Kodku made Mohan a priest.'

SOAV

(8) *h muntsheja kh ghireja khikhirha ra*

h muntshe-ja kh ghire-ja khi -khi -rha ra

That man -GEN face how-ADV dark-RDP -seem PART

'What a dark complexion s/he has!'

12.1.2 Word order

The order of the words of simple transitive clause is sov. We may derive six permuted orders.

(9) *Ramna dza ni* (sov)

Ram-na dza ni -

Ram-ERG rice eat -3NPST

'Ram eats rice.'

- (10) *Ramna ni dza* (svo)

Ram-na *ni-* dza

Ram-ERG eat- 3NPST rice

'As for Ram, he eats rice.'

- (11) *ni Ramna dza* (vso)

ni- Ram-na dza

eat- 3NPST Ram-ERG rice

'As for eating, Ram does it.'

- (12) *ni dza Ramna* (vos)

ni- dza Ram-na

eat- 3NPST rice Ram-ERG

'It is rice, which Ram eats.'

- (13) *dza Ramna ni* . (osv)

dza Ram-na *ni-*

rice Ram-ERG eat- 3NPST

'As for rice, it is Ram who eats (it).'

- (14) *dza ni Ramna*. (ovs)

dza *ni-* Ram-na

rice eat-3NPST Ram-ERG

'As for rice, Ram eats it. (he does not do anything else).'

It is to be noted that all the six logically possible clauses (9-14) are acceptable in Pahari. *sov* (9) may represent the basic word order in the language. The reasons are:

a) This order is common in other Tibeto-Burman languages like Chepang (Caughley 1982), Newar (Malla 1985), Gurung (Glover 1974) including Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali (Regmi 1988), and Maithili (Yadava 1998).

b) The native speakers have strong feelings that (*sov*) is the basic order. However, it is the most frequent, least marked and pragmatically neutral (Whaley 1997:106).

The examples (9-14) show the permutation of the constituents in the simple transitive clause. However, the change in order generally triggers a change in the meaning of the permuted elements from its stipulated place.

We can observe mainly two types of pragmatic effects of the permutation of constituents in (9-14): Topicalization and Focusing.

12.1.3 Topicalization

In (10) subject, (11, 12) verb and (13, 14) object are placed clause initially or topicalized.

12.1.4 Focusing

The subject is focused as in (11, 13), object is placed clause-medially or focused (12) and similarly verb is focused in (10, 14).

12.2 The noun phrase

12.2.1 Noun phrase constituents

A noun phrase in Pahari language consists of modifier, head-modifier. The head is obligatory whereas its modifiers are optional. The structure of an NP is exemplified in (15-22).

(15) *bho:*

bho:

book

'head noun'

(16) *bho:nhipa*

bho: nhi-pa

book two-CF

HEAD +NR+CF

(17) *u bho:*

u bho:

This book

DEM +HEAD

(18) *u nu bho:*

u nu bho:

This my book

DEM + POS + HEAD

(19) *u nu nhuli bho:*

u nu nhuli bho:

This my new book

DEM + POS + ADJ + HEAD

(20) *Thima dh ni muntshe*

Thi-ma dh ni muntshe

One-CF rich man

NR+CF+ADJ +HEAD

(21) *u nu nhuli midzi tshã njana biu nhi-pa bho:.*

u nu nhuli midzi tshã nja-na bi -u nhi-pa bho:

This my new yesterday 2S-ERG buy-IMPV give-NML NR-CF HEAD

DEM +POS+ADJ+ADV NML. CL +NR+CF+HEAD

(22) *u nu nhuli bho:nhipa*

u nu nhuli bho: nhi-pa

This my new book two-CF

DEM + POS + ADJ+HEAD+NR +CF

From (15-22) *bho*:(15), *nhipa bho*:(16), *u bho*:(17), *u nu bho*:(18), *u nu nhuli bho*(19), *u nu nhuli bho: nhipa* (20), *Thima dh ni muntshe* (21), *u nu nhuli midzi tshā njana biu nhipa bho*:(22) are all noun phrases. *nhipa* (16), *u* (17), *u nu* (18), *u nu nhuli* (19), *Thima dh ni*(20), *u nu nhuli midzi tshā njana biu nhipa*(21), *u nu nhuli nhipa* (22) are modifiers. The numeral-classifier *nhi-pa* (22) either precedes or succeeds the head, but other numerals do not follow the head.

According to Malla (1985:70) Newar is a classifier language; all of its count nouns are counted by numerals in combination with a specific classifier.

Since Pahari belongs to Newar subgroup of Himalish sub-division (Noonan 2003:23), the statement also applies to Pahari. Such classifiers follow or (precede) the head noun whereas all modifiers precede the head noun. Kansakar in a personal conversation (2010 September 28) denies the concept of classifier construction (*Classifier-Numeral-Noun*) with special reference to Newar. Let us examine with few examples from Pahari, Kathmandu Newar, Nepali and Dhankute Tamang:

Pahari

(23) *bho:nhipa bi*

bho: nhi-pa bi - ø

book NR-CF give-IMP

'Give two books.'

(24) *nhipa bho: bi*

nhi-pa bho: bi-ø

NR-CF book give-IMP

'Give two books!'

Kathmandu Newar

(25) *tsh pu suka h dzi.*

tsh -pu suka h dzi- ø

NR-CF thread bring-IMP

'Bring a strand of thread.'

- (26) *suka tsh -pu h dzi*
- suka tsh -pu h dzi- ø
- thread NR-CF bring-IMP
- 'Bring a strand of thread.'

Nepali

- (27) *euta dhago ljau*
- ek-uta dhago lja-u
- NR-CF thread bring-IMP
- 'Bring a strand of thread.'
- (28) *dhago euta lja-u*
- dhago ek-uta lja-u
- thread NR-CF bring-IMP
- 'Bring a strand of thread.'

Dhankute Tamang (Poudel 2006:83)

- (29) *mhi gik kha-dzi.*
- mhi gik kha-dzi
- Man one come-PST
- 'One man came.'
- (30) *gik mhi kha-dzi.*
- gik mhi kha-dzi

one man come-PST

'One man came.'

In Pahari (23, 24), Kathmandu Newar (KN) (25, 26), in Nepali (27, 28) and in Dhankutte Tamang (29, 30) all are acceptable. Tamang is not a classifier language, but being a language of South Asia to some extent it bears an aerial feature of classifier language. So the classifier construction should be proposed as *Numeral-Classifier-head word* or *head word-Numeral-Classifier*.

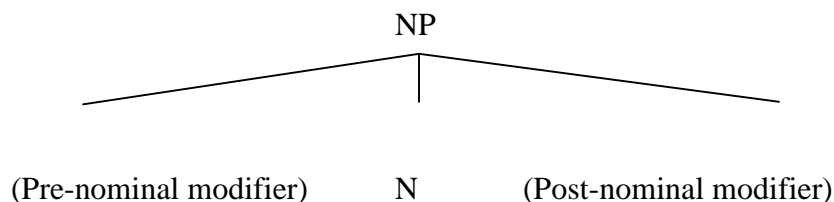
The structure of Noun Phrases is summarized as follows:

- i. Head (as in (15))
- ii. Head- Modifier (as in(16))
- iii. Modifier-Head (as in (17-21))
- iv. Modifier-Head-Modifier (as in (22))

On the basis of afore mentioned (in15-22), we can schematize a noun phrase as in (31).

(31) NP (Pre-modifiers) N (Post-modifiers) shown in fig (11.1).

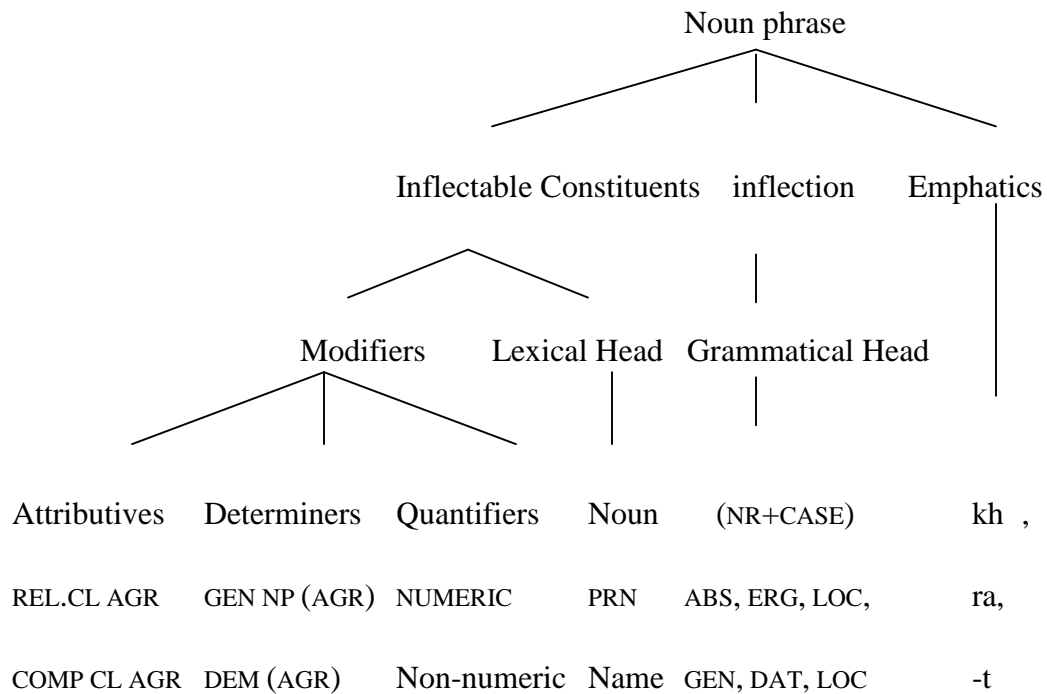
Figure 12.1:Structure of noun phrase



The Noun Phrase (NP) consists of an obligatory head which is either a noun or a pronoun, or a gerundive or infinitive verb. All modifiers are optional, and they precede the head, giving

us a modifier(s) - modified phrase type. When the head noun is counted the numeral-classifier alone follows the head noun (Malla 1985:69). The overview of the parts of an NP is presented in Fig.; 12.2.

Figure; 12.2: Noun phrase constituents



(Hale & Shrestha 2006:76)

An NP must have at least one overt inflectable constituent: a determiner, an attributive, a lexical head, or a quantifier. All combinations of inflectables are possible. A non-inflectable (a plural marker, a case marker, or an emphatic) cannot be chosen as the sole constituent of a noun phrase (Hale and Shrestha 2006:77).

12.2.2 Modifiers

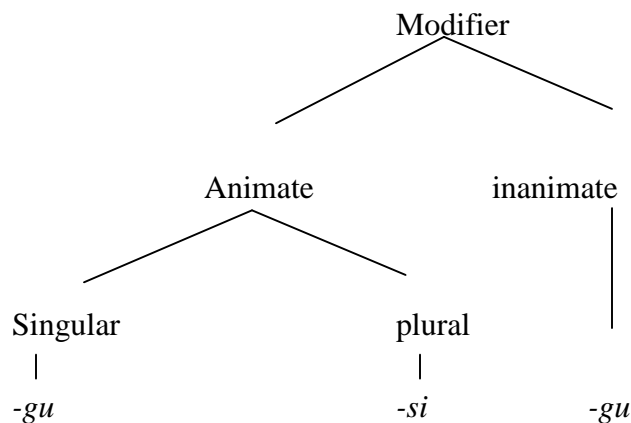
Modifiers of noun phrases can be sub-divided into pre- and post-nominal modifiers. Pre-modifier includes modifiers (attributives, determiners, and quantifiers) whereas post-modifiers have number, case markers and emphatics.

a. Premodifiers

(i) Attributives

Table 12.3 presents the forms used with attributives and determiners to mark agreement with noun heads. Agreement is obligatory for attributives (relative clauses, complement clause and adjectives), but it is optional for determiners (genitive noun phrases and demonstratives).

Fig; 12.3: Modifier agreement for animacy and number



(Hale & Shrestha 2006:82)

(A) Relative clauses agreement

The agreement of a relative clause is obligatory. Relative clause can occur with either animate or inanimate heads (Hale & Shrestha 2006:82).

Relative clause shows agreement for animacy with all head nouns.

(30) *na pi ja sima dze dz -u.*

na pi -ja -gu sima dze dz -u

1S plant -PST-DET tree old be-3PST

'The tree which I planted became old.' (Hale & Shrestha 2006:82)

(31) *l ja tisa nalau kjæmadziu*

l -ja tisa nala-u kja-e ma-dziu

gold-POS ornament find-AGR take-INF NEG-be

'Finding a golden ornament is not auspicious.'

(B) complement clauses agreement

Infinitival complements also agree with the noun heads that they modify.

(32) *h muntshejata nona wæmadzi u.*

h munche-jata no-na wa-e ma -dzi - u

3SG person-DAT mouth-ERG move-INF NEG-be -3RPST

'That person became unbearable.'

b. Determiners

With determiners, the same system applies as for relative clauses, but agreement marking is optional. Pahari accepts all the norms of Newar determiners.

(33) *thu: tsh ja kh lha:bi*

th -(gu) tsh -ja kh lha: -bi -

Self-DET house-POS thing talk-give-IMP

'Tell about your house.'

(34) *h li muntsheja kh i: mamur .*

h -li munche-ya kh i: ma -mu -r

3S-DET man-POS talk hear like-NEG-be

'I don't like to listen that to one person.'

A. Genitive NP agreement

The genitive is unique as it is the only Newar case form that can be followed by an agreement marker. Noun Phrases with Genitive inflection (GENNP) occur as determiners within a noun phrase. They can also occur as the argument of a verb within a clause (Hale and Shrestha 2006:82).

(35) *Ramyagu tasbir*

Ram-ja-gu t sbir

Ram-GEN-DET picture

'Ram's picture (Ram is owner)'

(36) *tsheyamha muntshe*

che -ja -mha muntshe

house-POS -DET person

'The man from the house (-not the other one)'

(37) *Ramja mudzõ*

Ram-ja mudzõ

Ram-GEN wife

'Ram's wife'

(38) *Ramjagu mudzõ.*

Ram-ja-gu mudzõ

Ram-GEN-DET wife

'Ram's wife (in contrast to all others)'

In KN animate and inanimate are distinguished by the determinant, that is <-*gu*> for inanimate, and <-*mha*> for animate. Most cases in Pahari accept this rule, though sometime it violates the rule like in (38).

c. Quantifiers

There are two types of quantifiers: numeric and non-numeric. Numeric quantifiers are also of two types: Numeral classifier constructions and ordinals.

(i) Numeric quantifiers

Quantifier class is a property of the lexical head of a noun. The quantifier class is a dependent-marked (Hale and Shrestha 2006: 92). A classifier by itself is not a quantifier but in a *numeral-classifier* context it works as a quantifier. Classifiers agree with the heads in

terms of animacy and number. In sentence (39) *nhi-sa muntshe* 'two persons' <-sa> is a human marker classifier.

(39) *nhisa muntshejata thidzo he:jo.*

nhi-sa muntshe-jata thi-dzo he-ejo
two-CF man-DAT one-pair say-NS/SH

'A group of two people called a pair.'

Many of the inanimate classifiers are selected on the basis of a shape-based classification of head word. It includes <-pu> 'long and cylinder', <-ma> 'plant or general', <-ba> 'flat', <pa> 'flat human organs', <-gu> 'fruits', <-pai> 'lump', <-po:> 'package, opening', <-gona> 'ball', <-ka> 'flips', <-tsa:> 'ring', <-nu> 'day', <-kha> 'residence', <phoe> 'flower', <-tsha:> 'meal'.

(40) *tsotha-bh kh djojata thipu kho tshjæma:.*

tsotha-bh kh -djo-jata thi-pu kho tshja-e ma:
cotha-EMP thief-god-DAT NR-CF radish offer-INF need

'A radish should be offered to the thief-god at the time of cotha festival.'

(For detail see chapter: 10)

Ordinals

Ordinals, in Pahari are mostly different from KN. It applies to particular speech context.

(41) *uthana pikha tsh hokhe nu khiu:.*

u -tha-na pi-kha tsh hokhe nu khiu:
This-ALL-ERG four-CF house there my COP

'Fourth from this house there is my (house).'

(42) *nhikha ukhe nu tsh du.*

nhi-kha ukhe nu tsh du

two-CF there my house COP

'My house is third one from this'

b. Non-numeric quantifiers

Non-numeric quantifier can modify the head directly without the use of a numeral classifier:.

(43) *ekko muntshet du.*

ekko muntshe-t du

many people-PL be

'There are many people.'

44) *lukhu bhititsa tō .*

lukhu bhititsa tō-

water a little drink-1SNPST

'I will drink little water.'

In (43) and (44) *ekko* 'plenty' and *bhititsa* 'a little' are non numeric quantifiers.

12.2.3 Post-nominal modifier

a. Number

Plural in general is marked with the morpheme <-t >. <-si> marks the human plural counts for kinship, designation, elites, and pronoun. <-dza> is used in non identified kinship. All the plural markers are added to the noun, pronoun, adjective and adverbial nouns. (For more see: chapter 6.1.2)

(45) *mesat hal ri*

mesa-t hal- -ri

buffalo-PL cry-A-3PST

'The buffalos cried.'

<-si> is an animate plural marker used in four distinct categories: kinship (46), honored name (47), designation (48). In KN <-p> is used as a plural marker in pronoun (49) including afore-mentioned three categories.

(46) *basimasiya kh i:ma:.*

ba -si ma -si -ya *kh* *i:* *ma:*

father-PL mother-PL-GEN talk hear need

'One should obey the parents.'

(47) *hakimsita n m skar he.*

hakim-si-ta n m skar he-ø

Officer-PL-AD salute do-IMP

'Salute the officers.'

(48) *bhaju/babusi si mh na phu?*

bhaju/babu-si mh -na phu

gentleman-PL body-ERG able

'Gentleman! Are you all well?'

(49) *thu-p g n wan-e ten- .*

thu-p g n wan-e ten-

3S-PL where go-INF ready-NSPST

'Where are these people going to?'

<- *dza*>, a plural marker for non-identified kinship, is rare in use.

(50) *m n dza simako dzha:ri.*

m n -dza sima-ko dzha -: -ri
 brother / sister-PL tree-LOC climb -A -3RPST
 'The brother / sisters climbed the tree.'

< *-kari* > marks the plural of professionals (51) and locals (52).

(51) *h tha tsula bhura kari du*

h tha tsula -bhura -kari du
 There she-goat-herd-PL COP
 'There is a goat-merchant.'

(52) *g ja dhabakata manehe ma:.*

g -ja dhaba-ka-ta man-e he ma:
 village-GEN seniors-PL-AD respect- INF do-need
 'One should respect the seniors of the village.'

The word final vowel changes into high front vowel in the geminated word [phisi (53), lakhi (54)] during the reduplication.

(53) *phusaphisi ekkō iu.*

phusa phisi ekkō i- u
 air RDP more come-NPST1PL/2/3

'It is airy.'

(54) *lukhulakhi ekko du.*

lukhu lakhi ekko du

water RDP more COP

'There is sufficient water.'

b. Case

(i) Absolutive

The subject of intransitive verb takes no marker, and represented with <- \emptyset >, hence it is called Absolutive case (ABS).

(55) *dzi di ni.*

dzi- \emptyset di - -ni

I-ABS sleep-A-1PST

'I slept.'

(56) *dzi kho:ni.*

dzi- \emptyset kho:- ni

I-ABS cry-A-1PST

'I wept.'

(ii) Pro-drop

The first person singular subject of transitive verbs *ni* (57) and *pa* in (58) drops the pronoun subject known as PRO DROP is the special feature found in Pahari.

(57) *na dza ni ni.*

na dza ni- -ni

PRO DROP-ERG rice eat-A-1PST

'I ate rice.'

(58) *na ku:na bu palani*

na ku:-na bu pala-ni

PRO DROP spade-ERG field dig-1SG.PST

'I plough the field.'

(iii) Ergative

A case marked in Pahari with <-na>, for A-I-AB [the subject of transitive verbs (59), (Agent)-Instrument (60, 61)-Ablative (62)] Joshi (1984:70) implies that the syncretic uses of this case marker is categorized as an ergative case.

(59) *h na tsithi tso:ri*

h -na tsithi tso:-ri

3-ERG letter write-PST

'S/he wrote a letter.'

(60) *na lobo-na dze su .*

na lobo-na dze su-

PRO DROP-ERG tool-INS work act-1NPST

'I work with the instruments / tools.'

(61) *nhja:na w so go : ri.*

nhja:-na w so go - : ri

sun-ERG cloth dry-A-3RPST

'The sun dried the clothes.'

(62) *simana muga kunu.*

sima-na muga kun - -ri

Tree-ERG monkey down-A-3RPST

'The monkey fell down from a tree.'

(iv) Dative / antidative

<-da/-ta/-jata> is used for both dative (63) and antidative (65) case as most of the TB languages do have. Voiceless unaspirated /t/ changes into voiced unaspirated /d/ before voiced /n/, as presented in (63):

(63) t d/___n.

(64) *nuda dheba haja.*

nu-da dheba haja- ø

1-DAT money bring-IMP

'Give me the money.'

(65) *nuda h na da:ri*

nu-da h -na da:-ri

1-AD 3S-ERG hit-A-3PST

'S/he hit me.'

(66) *ramna h jata da:ri*

ram-na h -jata da:-ri

Ram-ERG 3SG-DAT hit-A-3PST

'Ram hit him.'

<-ta> changes into <-to> (67) is a case of vowel lowering.

(67) *thuna thuto dyæmire.*

th -na thu-to da-e mire

self-ERG self-AD hit-INF NEG

'Do not hit yourself.'

(v) Allative

Allative case in Pahari is marked with <-tha> location (68), which in KN is marked with human possessive single marker <-ke>. in Kathmandu Newar allative case is marked with <-thæ> 'place' for only plural human possessive (69). In classical Newar (CN) only locative was used (Jorgensen 1941:21)

(68) *tsh tha tsibi du.*

tsh -tha tsibi du

You-ALL knife COP

'Do you have a knife?'

(69) *dzhi:thæ ramajan du.*

dzhi: -thæ ramajan du

we (INC) -ALL Ramayan COP

'We have the Ramayana.'

(vi) Associative

<nau (> na)>, the associative marker in Pahari is equivalent to <nap > in KN. In KN these days <lise> 'together' is replacing <nap > that makes sometimes cause confusion. Both in Pahari <nau> and KN <nap > / <lise> function as postposition as well as case marker. In

(70), there are three associative. /*nu-na*/ 'with me', is the only associative marker, (71) conveys the meaning of simultaneous action.

(70) *nuna nau nau go*

nu-na nau nau go

1-with together RDP go

'Let us go together. (You must go with me).'

(71) *tshiri nau nau dzuja*.

tshiri nau nau dzu -ja

1 (INC) together RDP walk-PST

'We moved hand in hand.'

(viii) Locative

<-*ko*> and <- :> are the locative markers in Pahari. <-*ko*> is common, whereas the vowel ending words take the <- :> marker. The mature speakers use <-*ga*> in vowel ending words, like in (72) and locative <-*ko*> in (73)

(72) /*bu-ga*/ > /*bu-a*/ (*c-deletion*)

> /*bu-a*:/ (*compensatory lengthening*)

> /*bu- :*/ (*vowel raising*)

(73) *m n dza simako dzhau*.

m n -dza sima-ko dzha -u

brother-PL tree-LOC climb-3PST

'The brothers climbed the tree.'

(ix) Genitive

This is the only case that does not establish a direct relation with the verb. As Panini said, it should have direct agreement with the verb. <-ja> is the general possessive marker. In the first person singular pronoun, it is not marked.

(74) *h ja bu tapa:.*

h -ya bu tapa:-

3-GEN field far-SH

'His /her land is far away.'

(75) *nu ma tshe : mur :*

nu-ø ma tshe- : mu-r :

my-ø mother house-LOC NEG-COP

'My mother is not at home.'

(For more information see 6.1.3 on case inflection).

12.2.4 Emphatics

There are many emphatic particles in the text. Few of them are listed with gloss and their application in the sentences.

<-**bh**> refers to the moment of the work

(76) *ga: mhunatu wæbh deo nala-na-tu j u.*

ga: mhu-na-tu w -ja-bh djo nala-na-tu j -u

pit dig-IMPV-EMP go-IMPV-EMP God open-IMPV-EMP come-3PST

'As (one) started to dig out the pit the idol began to appear.'

(77) *Tapæ djojata pudza heubh nhjapu ira: tigima:.*

Tapæ djo-jata	pudza	he-u	bh	nhja -pu	ira: ti -g -i	ma:
Of far God-AD	worship	do-NML	while	seven-CF	wick lit-K-INF	need

'One should light seven strands of cotton wick to the goddess Harati.'

<-gu>

This is a connective used in four ways: a) as a classifier, b) as a determinant, c) as a nominalizer, and d) as an agreement marker. In sentence (78) *Simana kunu-gu* (Tree-ABL down-DET) is determinant that conveys the meaning of 'one fallen from the tree', not others. In (79) *bāljæ igu* (nice come-DET) focuses on 'with clear picture' not others. (78 and 79) are topicalized sentences, in which 'the fallen one' and 'with clear picture' are emphasized respectively.

(78) *simana kunuu muga.*

sima-na	kunu-(g)u	muga
tree-ABL	down-DET	monkey

'The monkey fell from the tree.'

(79) *bāljæ iu TV gh ra:*

bāljæ	i-(g)u	TV	gh	ra:
nice	come-DET	TV	which	PART

'Which is the TV with a clear picture?'

<*dzu*> restricted to the area of speech.

(80) *sansarko thima alo dzu duijo.*

sansar-ko	thi-ma	alo	dzu	du-iyo
world-LOC	one-CF	sky	EMP	be-NS/SH

'The world has only one sky.'

<**ka**> *draws the attention of a listener.*

(81) *dzi bho: bõita iskulp ti w dzu ka.*

dzi bho: bõ -i -ta iskulp ti w - dzu ka

1s book read-INF-PURP school-DTC go-1SG.NPST be EMP

'I would go to school to study.'

<**kh**> 'also'

(82) *na kh dza ni- -ni*

na kh dza ni - -ni

PRO DROP-ERG EMP rice eat-A-1SG.PST

'I also ate rice.'

<**-ni**> 'yet to be happened'

(83) *bo:lamh sipahi kh i mur ni*

bo:la-mha sipahi kh -i mu-r ni

strong-NML soldier see-INF NEG-COP EMP

'A strong soldier is yet to be seen.'

<**ra**> *draws attention of the listener towards the speaker (84, 85).*

(84) *ma gwar bāla:ra.*

ma gwar bāla: ra

mother Q much nice EMP

'How beautiful mother is!'

(85) *h muntsheja kh ghireja khikhirha ra*

h muntshe-ja kh ghire-ja khi khi-rha ra
 That man-GEN face how-ADV dark RDP-seem PART
 'What a dark complexion s/he has!'

Sometimes it seeks information (86, 87 and 88).

(86) *tsatsiri gusara (du).*

tsatsiri gu-sa-ra (du)
 children what-CF-EMP COP
 'How many children do you have?'

(87) *tshi gh thana laja ra?*

tshi gh tha-na laja ra
 2S where-ABL come EMP
 'Where are you from?'

(88) *dhaulhoeho: gh tha ra*

dhaulho he-u: gh tha ra
 Dhaulho say-NML where EMP
 'Where is Dhaulho?'

<**s no**> Stress on the question or verb makes emphatics.

(89) *kh thiba bālasini s no khise hempho*

kh thi-ba bāla-sini s -no khise he-mu-pho
 face one-CF nice-CND who-EMP criticize do-NEG-able
 'No one can criticize a beautiful person.'

<-t > 'repetition of the action or things'

(90) *khont wõari / henat lari*

kho-na-t	w -a-ri / he-na -t	la:-ri
cry-IMPV-EMP	go-A-3PST/narrate-EMP	go-A-3RPST

'3 came / went crying / narrating all the way.'

12.2.5 Word order in the noun phrase

The relative order of the modifiers in NPs in Pahari is as follows:

(91) NP= (DEMONSTRATIVE) (DETERMINERS) (NUMERAL+CLASSIFIER) (ADJECTIVE)
(RELATIVE CLAUSE) HEAD (INFLECTION) (POSTPOSITION)

(92) *u nu nhuli midzi tshã njana biu nhi-pa bho:.*

u nu nhuli midzi tsha-~ nja-na bi-u nhi-pa bho:.

This my new yesterday 2S-ERG buy-IMPV give-NML NR-CF HEAD

DEM +POS+ADJ+ADV NML. CL +NUM+CF+HEAD

'These new two paper sheets which you had bought yesterday.'

Headword is obligatory; others are optional, represented within the parenthesis.

(93) *h bãmlagu dzipa bho: nu khiu:.*

h bã m -la -gu dzipa bho: nu khiu:

that nice NEG-shape-NML 10-CF paper my be

'Those damaged ten sheets of paper are mine.'

(94) *u nu nhuli bh mtsa nani bāla:*

u nu nhuli bh mtsa nani bāla:
 this my new bride maiden nice-SH

'(This) my dear new bride is beautiful.'

(95) *h w :u muntshetæta he.*

h w -: -u muntshe-ta-jat he-ø
 that go-SH-NML man -PL-DAT call-IMP

'Call those people who are going.'

Sentences (92, 93, 94, 95) that show more than a modifier at a time in a sentence is possible in Pahari. In sentence (93), there are remote demonstrative / *h* /, negative adjective / *bā-m - la-gu*/ and numeral classifier / *dzi-pa*/ are arranged in a single phrase. In (94), proximal demonstrative / *u*/, genitive / *nu*/, adjective / *nhuli*/ and post position (honorific) / *nani* / are arranged. Similarly, in (95), demonstrative / *h* /, nominalizer / *w :u*/, and post position (number and case) / *-ta-e-t* / are organized.

12.3 Verbal sequences

To analyse the structure of the Pahari verbal sequence, consider the various forms of a typical Pahari verb such as / *bi* / 'give'

(96) *na bho: biuni*

na bho: bi-u-ni
 1 book give-A-1SG.PST

'I gave a book.'

(97) *h karina midzi bho: bi- i.*

h -kari-na midzi bho: bi- i / bi-u-ni

3-PL-ERG yesterday book give- 3RPST

'Yesterday s/he/they gave a book.'

<- *i*> is the remote past marker suffix for first person singular. But in the case of *bi* 'give' verb /*bi-u-ni*/ is optionally used.

(98) *tshã bho: biuna*

tshã bho: bi -u-na

2S book give-A-2SG.PST

'you (S) gave a book.'

(99) *dzana/ tshana bho: biur u*

dza/ tsha-na bho: bi-u-r u

1/2PL-ERG book give-A-1/2PL.PST

'We/you (PL) gave a book.'

(100) *h karina bho: biu*

h -kari-na bho: bi-u

3-PL-ERG book give-3PST

'S/he/They gave a book.'

(101) *h karina bho: biuri*

h -kari-na bho: bi-u-ri

3-PL-ERG book give-A-3RPST

'S/he/They already gave a book.'

(102) *na bho: b :*

na bho: bi-

1s book give-1SG.NPST

'I will/give a book.'

(103) *dza / tshana / hu / hukana bho: biu:*

dza / tsha-na / hu / huka-na bho: bi-u:

1PL/2PL/3-ERG book give-1PL/2/3NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / give a book.'

(104) *h jat bho: bi.*

h -jat bho: bi-∅

3-DAT book give-IMP

'Give him / her a book'

(105) *na w jat bho: bi ja.*

na w -jat bho: bi- ja

1s 3S-DAT book give-S/SH

'I used to give him/her a book.'

(106) *h na ujat bho: biijo.*

h -na w -jat bho: bi- ijo

3S-ERG 3-AD book give-NS/SH

'S/he used to give him/her a book.'

(107) *na w so bii dhu ani.*

na w so bi-: dhu -a-ni.

1 cloth give-INF PFV-A-1PST

'I have given the clothes.'

(108) *na hæta bho: bina lajani.*

na h -jat bho: bi-na læ-a-ni.

na 3S-DAT book give-IMPV come-IMPV-1PST.

'I came, having given him a book.'

(109) *dza /tshi /tshari / h / karina ujat bho: bimakhi:.*

dza / tshi / tshari / h / -kari-na u-jat bho: bi ma-khi:

1PL/2/2PL /3-PL -ERG 3S-AD book give NEG-COP

'1/2/3will/do not give this person a book.'

(110) *hæt bho: bimire.*

h -jat bho: bi-mire

3- DAT book give-NEG. IMP

'Do not give him / her book'

As we observe the verb sequence in the sentence (96-110), the sequences are categorized into six types:

Table 12.1: Types of verb sequence

	Verb sequence	Example

i.	main verb as in	(96-103)
ii.	main verb +auxiliary as in	(108)
iii.	main verb + modal as in	(104-106)
iv.	main verb +aspect as in	(107)
v.	verb+ negative+cop as in	(109)
vi.	verb+ negative+ aspect as in	(110)

Table 12.2: Schematization of the possible verbal sequence

	Verbal sequence	Example
i.	V+ 1SPST	(96)
ii.	V+ 1RPST	(97)
iii.	v+ 2SPST	(98)
iv.	v+ 1/2PLPST	(99)
v.	v+3PST	(100)
vi.	v+3RPST	(101)
vii.	V+1SNPST	(102)
viii.	V+1PL/2/3NPST	(103)

ix.	V+ IMP	(104)
x.	V+ S/SH	(105)
xi.	V+ NS/SH	(106)
xii.	v+ PVF	(107)
xiii	v+ IMPVF	(108)
xiii.	v+ NEG+COP	(109)
xiii.	v+ NEG+ IMP	(110)

From the above schematization (Table 12.2), the verbal sequence in Pahari may be further schematized as:

Table 12.3: compact schematization of verbal sequence

	Verbal sequence	Example
i.	V+TENSE	(96-103)
ii.	V+MODAL	(104-106)
iii.	V+ASPECT+TENSE	(107)
iv.	v+ASPECT+AUX+ASPECT+TENSE	(108)
v.	v+NEG+COP	(109)
VI.	V+NEG+ASPECT	(110)

The six verbal sequences in Table12.3 can be represented into the following rule:

(111) Rule: verb V (ASPECT) (AUX) NML / TENSE (MODAL).

12.4 Agreement pattern

Pahari verbs inflect for tense, number and person, which differ from Kathmandu Newar. Kathmandu Newar inflects for tense, that is Past and Non past and person, that is conjunct (Self(S)) and disjunct (Non self (NS)). Pahari is not consistent in verb agreement. It has a simple past and remote past (RPST) in the 1st singular, marked by <- i>. In Past inflection (PST), it takes <-ni> suffix for first person singular [(1SG)112], <-na>, for second person singular (2SG), <-r u>, for first person and second person plural (1/2PL), <-ri> for third person remote past (3RPST) and <-u> for third person simple past (PST). In all classes and forms, these verbs take suffixes as mentioned in the concerned class followed by the insertion of the vowels as an epenthesis (A). In Non-Past (NPST), it inflects for 1s with a suffix <- > for all classes of verb categories; and N1SG.NPST (1PL/2/3) takes <-u:> in class I, <-:> in class II, <- :> in class III, and <-a:> in class IV. The structure of Pahari verb inflection is V + EPENTHESIS (A) + INFLECTIONAL SUFFIX.

(a) Past

(112) *na bho: biuni.*

na bho: bi -u -ni

1 book give-A-1SG.PST

'I gave a book.'

In Sentence (113) <- i> suffix reports that action occurred a day prior to speech time.

113) *na midzi dza ni i*

na midzi dza ni - i

1 yesterday rice eat-RPST

'I ate rice yesterday.'

<-na>, for 2s, is used followed by the insertion of <-u> in (114), <-:> in (115), <- :> in (116) and <-a> in (117).

114) *tshã bho: biuna*

tshã bho: bi -u -na

2SG (-ERG) book give-A-2SG.PST

'you (S) gave a book.'

115) *tshã w so suuna*

tshã w so su -: -na

2SG (-ERG) cloth sew-A-2SG.PST

'You (s) sewed the cloth.'

116) *tshã k tha he na*

tshã k tha he - : -na

2SG (-ERG) story tell-A -2SG.PST

'You(s) narrated a story.'

117) *tshã w so pulkana.*

tshã w so pulk -a -na

2S (-ERG) cloth patch-A -2SG.PST

'You(s) patched up the clothes.'

<-r u>, suffix is attached to the verb for first person and second person plural (1/2PL) inflection with insertion of A [<-u-> in class I (118), <-:-> in class II (119), <- :-> in class III (120) and <-a-> in class IV (121)].

118) *dza/ tshana bho: biur u*

dza/ tsha-na bho: bi -u -r u

1/2PL-ERG book give-A-1/2PL.PST

'We/you (PL) gave a book.'

119) *dza / tshana w so suur u*

dza / tsha-na w so su -: -r u

1/2PL-ERG cloth sew-A-1/2PL.PST

'We/you (PL) sewed the cloth.'

(120) *dza / tshana k tha he r u*

dza / tsha-na k tha he - : - r u

1/2PL-ERG story tell-A -1/2PL.PST

We/you (PL) narrated a story.

(121) *dza / tshana w so pulkar u*

dza / tsha-na w so pulk -a - r u

1/2PL-ERG cloth patch-A -1/2PL.PST

'You(s) patched up the clothes.'

<-ri>suffix is attached to the verbs for third person singular and plural (3) inflection with insertion of epenthesis <-u-> in class I (122), <-:-> in class II (123), <- :-> in class III (124) and <-a-> class IV (125).

122) *hu/hukana bho: biuri*

hu/huka-na bho: bi -u -ri

3SG/PL-ERG book give-A -3PST

'S/he/they gave a book.'

123) *hu/hukana w so suuri*

hu/huka-na w so su -: -ri

3SG/PL-ERG cloth sew-A-3PST

'S/he/they sewed the clothes.'

124) *hu/kana k tha he ri*

hu/ka -na k tha he - : -ri

3SG/PL-ERG story tell-A -3PST

'S/he/they narrated a story.'

125) *hu/kana w so pulkari*

hu/ka-na w so pulk-a- ri

3SG/PL-ERG cloth patch-A-3PST

'S/he/they patched up the clothes.'

(b) Non past

All the classes / groups of verbs take a single suffix <- > (v-) for 1s (126). This is a simplification of the verb inflection system.

126) *na bho: bi*

na bho: bi -

1SG book give -1SG.NPST

'I will/give a book.'

Except 1SNPT (126) rest of the persons and numbers are suffixed with a group characteristics, Class I (127) with <-u> (v+u), class II (128) with <-: > (v+:.), class III (129 with <- :> (v+ :.) and class IV (130) with <-a :> (v+a :.).

127) *dʒa / tʃana / h / kana bho: biu.*

dʒa / tʃa-na / h / ka-na bho: bi -u

1PL/2PL/ 3 -ERG book give-NPST1PL/2/3

'We/you/s/he/they will/give a book.'

128) *dʒa / tʃana / h / kana w so suu*

dʒa / tʃa-na / h / ka-na w so su-:

1PL/2PL/3-ERG cloth sew-N1NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will/sew the clothes.'

129) *dʒa / tʃana / hu / hukana k tha he*

dʒa / tʃa-na / hu / huka-na k tha he- :

1PL/2PL/ 3 -ERG story tell-N1NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / narrate a story.'

130) *dʒa / tʃana / hu / hukana w so pulkaa*

dʒa / tʃa-na / hu / huka-na w so pulk -a:

1PL/2PL/3-ERG cloth patch up-N1SG.NPST

'We/you/s/he/they will / patch up the cloth.'

The summary of Pahari verb agreement is shown in Table; 12.4.

(131) *Table 12. 4: Pahari verb agreement system*

	I /i	II / u, o, , a	III /e, n, l, t	IV/ k
TENSE/NUMBER	V-A-SFX	V-A-SFX	V-A-SFX	V-A-SFX

1SG.PST	bi-u -ni	su-: -ni	he- -ni	pulk-a-ni
1RPST	bi -u – i	su -: - i	he- - i	Pulk-a- i
2SG.PST	bi -u-na	su -: -na	he- -na	pulk-a-na
1/2PL.PST	bi-u-r u	su-: -r u	he- -r u	pulk-a-r u
3RPST	bi-u-ri	su-: -ri	he- -ri	pulk-a-ri
3PST	bi-u	su-u	he-u	pulk-u
1SG.NPST	bi-	su-	he-	pulka-
1PL/2/3 NPST	bi-u:	su-u	he- :	pulka-:

12.5 Major sentence types

In this section we discuss major sentences (copular, question, imperative and optative) in p hari. They are as follows:

12.5.1 Copula sentence

Pahari has three types of copula verbs corresponding to English 'be'. Such verb roots along with their inflections as illustrated below: (131).

(131)

Table 12.4: Copula verbs

Copula	positive	negative
	prefix-head word	

Identificational	khiu:	ma	-khiu:
Existential	du	mu	-r :
Descriptive	dzu	ma	-dziu

a. Identification

(132) *u nu ch khiu:*

u nu tsh khiu:

this my house be

'This is my house.'

(133) *h na Ram khiu:*

ch na Ram khiu:

Your name Ram COP

'Your name is Ram.'

b. Existential sentence

These are statement-referring sentences. The word order in these sentence are svo or unmarked, e.g.

(134) *nu tsh kokudeko (du)*

nu tsh kokude-ko (du)

My home Kodku-LOC COP

'My home is at Kodku.'

(135) *h tsh d :*

h tsh - d :

3s house-LOC be

'He is at home.'

(136) *h karija tsh dhaba du*

h -kari-ja tsh dhaba du

3S-PL-GEN house big be

'Their house is big.'

c. Descriptive

(137) *shyam dhaba muntshe dzu:*.

shyam dhaba munche dzu:

shyam great person be-NPST

'Shyam will be a great man.'

(138) *na bala: muntshe dzu-*

na bala: muntshe dzu-

1s good person be-NPST

'I will be a noble person.'

12.5.2 Questions

In this category inquisitive questions or *wh* sentences [(5Wh + H) (*cula* 'what', *cyæ* 'why', *gh tha* 'where', *g hile* 'when', *sula* 'who' *ghire* 'how')] are used to obtain information, hence the words are called informative words/questions.

(139) *tsh tsh gh tha (du).*

tsh tsh gh tha (du).

Your home *where* COP

'Where is your home?'

(140) *tsh na tsula?*

tsh na tsula

Your name what

'What is your name?'

(141) *h tsjæ utha iu ra?*

h tsjæ u-tha i-u ra

3s why this-ALL come-3PST EMP

'Why did he come here?'

(142) *h sula?*

h sula

s/he who

'Who is s/he?'

(143) *u ghire ra le?*

u ghirera le?

This how PART

'How did it happen?'

(144) *u gahile dzu:?*

u gahile dzu:

This when happened

'When did it happen?'

(145) *tsatsiri gusara (du)*

tsatsiri gu-sa ra (du)

children what-CF EMP COP

'How many children do you have?'

Besides these, there is another type of interrogative sentence i.e. tag question or yes/no question. In this type the sentence is similar to declarative sentences. The only difference is the use of rising tone followed by an optional particle at the end of the sentences.

(146) *tshi mohan khiu ra?*

tshi mohan khiu ra

You mohan COP Q

'Are you Mohan?'

(147) *tshi mohan khiu*

tshi Mohan khiu:

You Mohan COP

'Are you Mohan?'

Tags are also used in negative forms. These types of sentences are discussed under negative sentences.

(148) *tshi gh tha du*

tshi gh tha du

2SG where be

'Where are you?'

(149) *tshi gh thana laja ra?*

tshi gh tha-na laja ra

2SG where-ABL come EMP

'Where are you from?'

(150) *dhaulhoheo: gh tha ra?*

dhaulho he-u: gh tha ra

Dhaulho say-NOM where EMP

'Where is Dhaulho?'

12.5.3 Ergative sentences

Ergativity is found in Pahari language in cases like Pro drop-agent (151, 152), agentive (153), instrumental (154) and ablative (155). These are categorized as ergatives.

(151) *na dza ni ni*

na dza ni- -ni

PRO DROP-ERG rice eat-A-1SPST

'I ate rice.'

(152) *na ku:na bu palani*

na ku:-na bu pal-a-ni

PRO DROP spade-ERG field dig-A-1SPST

'I ploughed the field.'

(153) *h na tsithi tso:ri*

h -na tsithi tso:-ri

3-ERG letter write-3RPST

'S/he wrote a letter.'

(154) *na lobo-na dze su*

na lobo-na dze su-
 PRO DROP-ERG tool-INS work move-1NPST

'I work with the tools.'

(155) *simana muga kunu*

sima-na muga kun-u
 Tree-ABL monkey down-3PST

'A monkey fell down from a tree.'

12.5. 4 Dative subject constructions

<-da> is the marker of dative (DAT) case. Most of the TB languages have the same suffix for dative and antidative case. In NB it is <-ta> for both dative and antidative. In (156 and 157 <-ta> is changed to <-da> because of *nu* 'me' (voiced sound). Sentence (156) is marked as a dative whereas sentence (157) indicates an antidative function. This type of structure is called a dative subject construction.

(156) *nuda dheba haja*

nu-da dheba haja- ø
 1-DAT money bring-IMP

'Give me the money.'

(157) *nuda h na da:ri*

nu-da h -na da:-ri
 1-AD 3-ERG hit-A-3PST

'S/he hit me.'

(158) *thuna thuto djæmire*

th -na thu-to da-e-mire
self-ERG self-AD hit-INF-NEG

'Do not hit yourself.'

In sentence (158) Antidative marker <-ta> became <-to> because of preceding high back vowel /u/. This is a regressive assimilation as well as a case of vowel lowering.

(159) *Ramyata djaemire*

Ramyata dja-e mire
Ram-DAT hit-INF PRB
'Do not beat Ram.'

12.5.5 Comparative and superlative

(160) *h nujasina th*

h nu-ja sina th
3S 1SG-GEN COMP senior.
'S/he is senior to me.'

(161) *dzi hæšina kodzi: (du)*

dzi h -ja sina koji: du
3SG 1SG-GEN COMP junior be
'I am junior to him/her.'

(162) *dzi tsh ja phukkosina dhabamha khiu:.*

dzi tsh -ja phukko sina dhaba -mha khiu:
1SG house-GEN all COMP elder -CF COP

'I am the eldest in the family.'

(163) *phukkojasina dõu tsula du?*

phukko-ja sina dõ -u tsula du

All -GEN COMP cheap-NML what COP

'Of all what is the cheapest that you have?'

Lit: 'Among all which is the cheapest one?'

(160 and 161) are the comparative sentences marked with post-position *sina* 'than', whereas (162 and 163) are superlatives marked with a lexical intensifier *phukko* 'all' and the comparative *sina*.

12.5.6 Imperatives

There are two types of imperatives: simple imperative and prohibitive.

a. Simple imperative

It has five types of markers. They are: <-s >, <-e><-a><-Ø><-i >.

<-s >, is added to deictic verbs (164, 165).

(164) *bho: bulas*

bho: bu-la-s

book carry-go-DTC

'Take and carry the books away.'

(165) *tshe : las*

tshe- la-s

house-LOC go-DTC

'Go and stay inside the house.'

<-e> is added in the verbs ended with <u, o, , a >.

(166) *tshe : lae*

tshe - la-e

house-LOC go-IMP

'Come inside the house.'

(167) *ujata irekoinna w*

u-jata ire-ko in-na w -

DEM-DAT patan-LOC take-PTP go-IMP

'Carry this person to Patan city.'

Verbs ending with the sounds <e, n, l, t > take <-i> as an imperative marker.

(168) *bhu tsoli*

bhu tsol-i

plate rinse-IMP

'Clean the plate.'

(For detail see chapter 8, sub-section 8.2.2 a)

b. Prohibitive

It has a structure of V-INF-PRB, which is similar to KN. KN has honorific (171) and high-honorific (172) too, which are marked by *di:m te* and *bjyæm te* respectively preceded by the verb stem, which makes a structure: V-SPT-PTP H/HON-INF-PRB. /*m te*/ in KN and /*mire*/ in Pahari have the equi-gloss, in which intervocalic <-t-> changes into <-r->. In classical Newar (CN) /*m te*/ is found prevalently for prohibition, which undergoes the process of

morphophonemic change. The process can be presented as: *m te* > *m re* (rotacization) > *mire* (progressive assimilation or umlauting)

(169) *u bho: kæmire*

u bho: ka-e mire

this book take-INF PRB

'Do not take this book.'

(170) *makhiu kh lhæ mire*

ma-khi-u kh lha-e-mire

NEG-be-NML thing talk-INF-PRB

'Do not tell a lie.'

(171) *tho s phu k jadiim te*

tho s phu k -ja-: di-: m te

this book take-CJ-IMPV HON-INF PRB

Do not take this book please. (KN Honorific)

(172) *tho s phu k jabijyæm te*

tho s phu k -ja-: bijya-e m te

this book take-CJ-IMPV HHON-INF PRB

Do not take this book please (your Excellency). (KN high honorific)

12.5.7 Optatives

The root verb is followed by the optative marker <-ma> to denote wish (173, 174), curse (175, 176) in Pahari as in KN.

(173) *desjata bh : ma*

des-jata bh : ma

country-DAT good OPT

'May peace prevail in the country!'

(174) *Pas dzui ma*

Pas dzu-i ma

Pass be-INF OPT

'May you success!'

(175) *nas dzuima*

nas dzu-i ma

ruin be-INF OPT

'May you be ruin!'

(176) *sakha s ntan nhuina w u kh i duima*

sakha s ntan nhu-i-na w -u kh -i du-i ma

Spring off loss-INF-IMPV go-INF see-INF be-INF OPT

'May you lose your offsprings!'

12.5.8 Negation

Negation is formed with the prefix <ma-> (177). In (178) it is infix between *ma* 'mind' and *du* 'cop' (because of intervocalic position /d/ becomes /r/), since the *madu* 'like' is a noun incorporated derivation

(177) *h dzena tordae muph :ri*

h dze-na tordae mu-ph :-ri

3S job-ERG leave NEG-able-3RPST

'He did not want to work.'

(178) *ram dze s i mamuru tsa.*

ram dze s -i ma-mu-ru tsa

Ram job act-INF mind-NEG-COP feel

'Ram does not want to work.'

12.6 Clause combining

This section deals with clause combining in Pahari language. It mainly involves two types of morphosyntactic processes: *subordinate* and *co-ordinate* clauses. We first examine the coordinate clause and then we discuss subordination in the language.

12.6.1 Coordinate clauses

Coordinate clauses, as a rule, are finite. A coordinate sentence in Pahari may contain two or more than two independent clauses, e.g.

(179) *nu m n ireko w u t r nani muw ∴.*

nu m n ire-ko w -u t r nani mu-w ∴:

my brother patan-LOC go-3PST but sister NEG-go-N1NPST

'My brother went to Patan but sister did not.'

(180) *utha ja, bho: haja ale dzãts bi.*

utha ja, bho: haja ale dzãts bi-

here come, book bring, then exam give-IMP

'Come here, take the books, and then attend the exam.'

The sentence in (179) contains two clauses whereas the sentence (180) has three clauses.

12.6.2 Subordinate clauses

Pahari has a number of subordinate clauses. The subordinate clause is not equal to the main clause in the syntactic status as it is, which as a rule is dependent; e.g.

(181) *na he i ki tshā bālæ dze s na.*

na he- i ki tsha-1~ bāla-e dze s -na.

PRO DROP say-RPT that you-ERG nice-ADV work act-2SG

'I said that you worked well.'

(182) *h na nibh tshi tsh tha the na*

h -na ni-bh tshi tsh -tha the -na

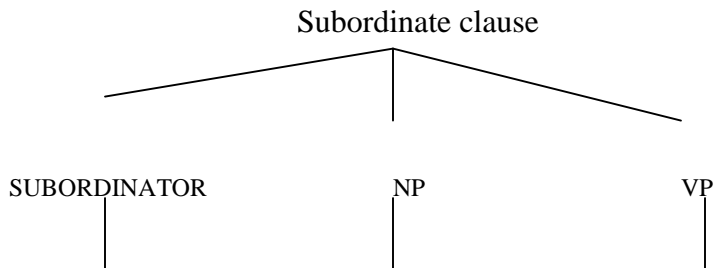
3S-ERG eat-time 2SG you-ALL reach-2SG

'Go while s/he eats.'

In (181 and 182) *ki tshā bālæ dze s na* and *nibh tshi tsh tha the na* are the subordinate clauses, which are dependent on the main clause.

The partial structure of sentence of (181) is as follows:

Figure; 12.4 subordinate clause structure



ki tshã bãlæ dze s na

The subordinator belongs to the subordinate clause. The subordinate clause depends on the matrix clause.

Based on verbal predicate, subordinate clauses in Pahari are of two types: finite, and non finite subordinate clauses.

a. Finite subordinate clauses

Finite subordinate clauses in Pahari are of: comparative, content, adverbial and quotative types.

i. Comparative subordinate clauses

(183) *tshi ni ori dzetha dzuilou na sotse mijani*

tshi	ni	o-ri	dzetha	dzu-ilo-u	na	sots-e	mi-ja-ni
2S	25-yrs old	be-EVNT-NML	ERG	think-INF	NEG	-do-1PST	

'You were 25 years old that I had not thought so.'

The reality in (183) is mentioned in the main clause *tshi ni o-ri dzetha dzu-ilo* which is compared to the speaker who did not think *na sotse mi-ja-ni*. The subordinator is *dzu-ilo-u*, which is included in the subordinate clause.

ii. Content subordinate clause

Content subordinate clause occurs in Pahari as a complement to the matrix verb, e.g.

(184) *nuda tha: du ki pradhanmantri dze dz u hena*

nu-da	tha:	du	ki	pradhanmantri	dze	dz -u	hena
me -DAT	know	COP	that	Primeminister	old	be-PST	QT

'I know that the prime-minister is old.'

In (184), the main clause *nu-da tha: du* is independent whereas *ki pradhanmantri dze dz -u hena* is a subordinate one. The subordinate *<ki>* is optional which is borrowed from the neighbouring language Nepali.

(185) *m n na heu ki 'dzi tshe la '*

m n -na he-u ki 'dzi tshe- la- '.

brother -ERG say-PST that 'I house-LOC go back-1SNPST"

The brother said that "I will go home"

(186) *m n na heu ki h tshe la:*

m n -na he-u ki h tshe- la:

brother -ERG say-PST that 3SG house-LOC go back-3SG.NPST

'The brother said that he will go home (in the upper area)'

In (185, 186) two independent clauses occur whereas direct speech is subordinated in (185).

iii. Adverbial subordinate clause

In (187 and 188) subordinate clause *h halu baba* 'the noisy boy', and *h laibh ' while s/he will come'* functions as an adverbial phrase. In which the former is adverb of manner whereas latter is adverb of time.

(187) *h halu baba Ram khiu:*

h hal-u: baba Ram khiu:

3s cry-NML boy Ram COP

'The noisy boy is Ram.'

(188) *h laibh tshi tshe th lana*

h la-i-bh tshi tshe- th la-na

3s come-INF-time you house-LOC reach come-2SG.PST

'You reach home when s/he arrives.'

iv. Quote clause

A subordinator such as the quotative <*hena*> allows a full range of inflection

(189) *Ram th r la-i-hena kh b r he-u*

Ram th r la-i hena kh b r he-u

Ram today come-NPST QT message tell-PST

'Ram send a message that he is coming.'

In this sentence *hena* 'said that' functions as a quotative (QT).

d. Non-finite subordinate clause

Non-finite subordinate clauses are of four types: relative, infinitive, purposive and converb.

(i) Relative clauses

Relative clause in Pahari, are pre-nominal as they occur as nominal pre-modifiers to the head, e.g.,

(190) *bāla: ch digu:mh midzi siu*

bāla: ch di-g(-u):-mh midzi si-u

nice house make-K-NML-CF yesterday die-3PST

'The man who built a beautiful house, died yesterday.'

(191) *bālae bho:bōmh dzācbh pas dzuijo:.*

bāla-e bho: bō-mh dzāc-bh pas dzu-ijo:

nice-ADV book read-CF exam-time pass be-SH

'The man who had read books keenly passes the exam.'

In (190, 191), *bāla: ch degmh* and *bālae bho:bōmh* pre modify the head *mh* and thereby function as nominal modifiers. The nominalized verb *de-g-mh* in the relative clause *bāla: tsh digmh* in (190) refers to the activity that <-*mh* /a> performs or the quality that the head possesses.

(192) *u l mhumh h mudzōya k khiu:.*

u l mhu-mh h mudzō-ya k khiu:

this path dig-NML 3S lady-GEN husband COP

'He, who dug this path, is that lady's spouse.'

(193) *kho: muntshe tas mherw heu du.*

kho-: muntshe tas mher-w he-u du

cry-NML person cards play-IMPV do-NML COP

'The person who wept is playing cards.'

In (192) the complement *h mudzōja k* implies the head of the relative clause and thereby it lacks the head *muntshe*.

ii. Infinitive clause

Equi-subject of the sentential complement in Pahari is deleted, e.g.

(194) *dzi bho: bōita iskulp ti w dzu ka.*

dzi bho: bō -i -ta iskulp-p ti w - dzu ka.

1SG book read -INF -PURP school-DTC go-1SG.NPST be EMP

'I would go to school to study.'

(195) *Puro dzagir ni:ta dzu: du*

Puro dzagir ni -i -ta dzu -: du

son job eat-INF-PURP move-NPST COP

'The son wanted to do a job.'

In (194 and 195) infinitive marker <-i> is followed by the purposive marker (PRP) <-ta>. Both in KN and Pahari, purposive is followed by infinitive marker (INF).

iii. Purposive clause

Purposive clause in Pahari is marked by the suffix <-ta:> which is added to the verb root, e.g.

(196) *bho: eta h ireko th la*

bho: e-ta h ire-ko th -la

book buy-PURP 3S Patan-LOC reach-go

'He went to Patan city to buy a book.'

(197) *j dzna heta burmu gauko th lau.*

j dzna he-ta burmu gau-ko th la-u

yajna do-PURP brahmin village-LOC reach-3PST

'The brahmin arrived at the village to perform the yajna.'

In (196 and 197), both the main subordinate clauses have equi- subjects, which are deleted in the subordinated clauses, the subordinate clauses in (196 and 197) indicate the purposes of performing the actions as mentioned in the main clauses. In (196), the speaker tells a person

(here, subject) to come for the purpose of taking a book. In (197), the subject performed the work of coming for the purpose of performing the y jna in the village.

iv. Converbial clauses

Converb clauses are categorized into simultaneous and sequential. They are described as follows:

a. Sequential converb clause

The sequential converb in an embedded clause is marked by <-na>, <-tu>(EMP) <-le> 'after', and <-bh > 'while' which is added to the root of the main verb.

(198) *dza nena moh n fisko w u*

dza ne-na Moh n fis-ko w -u

Rice eat-IMPV Moh n office-LOC go-3PST

'Having eaten his meal, Mohan went to office.'

Lit: 'After taking his meal, Mohan went to office.'

(199) *mhjamtsana me halina harmonium pur skar ka:.*

mhjamtsa-na me hal-i-na harmonium pur skar ka-:

Daughter-ERG song cry-INF-IMPV harmonium prize take-3PST

'Singing a song daughter received harmonium as a prize.'

Lit: The daughter won a harmonium in the singing competition.

The equi-subject of the embedded clause is deleted. The action as denoted by the embedded clause is considered to take place a bit earlier than the embedding clause. In (198), the doer is

supposed to have his meal first and then go to the office, whereas in (199) it is singing and won the harmonium, as a prize.

(200) *bho: tsonale d : kh i i.*

bho: tso-na-le d : kh -i- i

book write-IMPV-PPOS error see-INF-1RPST.

'I found errors as I began to write.'

In (200) as the writing is finished, finding the error is at the same time or one after the other, which is marked by <-na-> (IMPV) and <-le> (postposition (PPOS) 'after')

(201) *ga: mhunatu w nabh (wæbh) deo nala-na-tu j u.*

ga: mhu-na-tu w -na-bh (w -ya-bh) deo nala-na-tu j -u

pit dig-IPV-EMP go-IMPV-time god open-IPV-EMP come-3PST

'As (one) started to dig out the pit the idol began to appear.'

In (201) *the work of digging and appearing of the idol*, which is marked by <-bh > 'at the time' (emphatic Particle (EMP)) and continuity marker particle <-tu>.

b. Simultaneous converb clause

Simultaneous converb clause in Pahari has no specific marker. It is represented by the repetition of the verb of the embedded sentence.

(202) *budzi niu niu h bup tti w u*

budzi ni-u ni-u h bu-p tti w -u

flake eat-NML eat-NML 3SG field-DTC go-3PST

'While eating rice flakes, he went towards the field.'

(203) *tsiya tōtō: h kana kh lhætari.*

tsiya tō-tō: h ka-na kh lhæ-tari.

tea drink RDP DIST-ERG thing talk-ready to

'While drinking tea, they are holding talk.'

Eating rice flakes and going to the field are happening side by side is represented by the repetition of the verb /*ni-u*/ in (202). In the same manner, the action of drinking tea and holding talk happening simultaneously is represented with <*tō*> in (203).

v. Nominalized-relativized clauses

204) *soema muntshena musoesilja dukh dz u*

so-e ma muntshe-na mu-so-e si-lija dukh dz -u

look-INF need person-ERG NEG-look-INF if-PPOS trouble be-3PST

Lit: 'A person's irresponsibility caused a problem.'

In this sentence *soema muntshena* 'a man who has to look after' is the relative clause whereas *musoesilya dukh dz u* 'because of his carelessness, he got into trouble' is the nominalized clause

vi. Conditional and concessional clauses

(205) *nu-tha ekk ror dheba du:sini tsh e-tjæ.*

nu-tha ek-k ror dheba du-: sini tsh e-tjæ

me-ALL one-10 billion money be-NML CND house buy-ready

'If I have ten billion rupees I will be ready to buy a house.'

Lit: 'If I were a billionaire, I would buy a house.'

(206) *Pjartol mur : sini mot r ts le dzui miijo.*

Pjartol mu-r : sini mot r ts l-e dzu-i mi-ijo.

Petol NEG-be CNS motor move-INF be-INF NEG-SH.

'A vehicle cannot move without petrol.'

(207) *l d sinikho mot r ekko c l-e mudzu.*

l d sini kho mot r ekko c l-e mu-dzu.

way be IF CNS motor plenty move-INF NEG-be

In spite of road facility, there are not many vehicles.

In (205, 206) <-sini> functions as a conditional (CND) whereas in (207) <*sini kho*> functions as a concessive (CNS).

12.7 Summary

This chapter examined the syntax of Pahari, which has eight types of basic sentences. They can be applicable to the whole range of Pahari clauses. The verbs used in Pahari constitute four classes: copular, intransitive, simple transitive, and bitransitive. The basic constituent order in Pahari is sov. For topicalization and focusing the constituents may be permuted within the clause to a great extent. A noun in Pahari consists of a head element that is realized by a noun and optionally one or more modifiers. The obligatory noun may be optionally preceded by pre-nominal modifiers. Post modification is not productive in Pahari. The linear ordering of the premodifier is relatively fixed. A verb can have tense, aspect, modality and other elements such as number and person markers, converb and causative markers, adverbial, negation etc. They are arranged in a particular sequence. However, the

sequence of these elements varies across the constructions. Pahari exhibits a complex agreement pattern.

Pahari consists of the major sentences: copular, ergative sentences, dative subject constructions, comparative and superlative, imperatives, optatives. Negation is similar in most South Asian languages. Pahari typically employs non-finite subordinate clauses instead of finite subordinate clauses to realize clause linkage. There are two types of converbs in Pahari: sequential and simultaneous.

Coordinate and subordinate clauses occur in clause combining. Subordinate clauses include finite and nonfinite. Finite subordinate clauses consist of comparative, content, adverbial and quote Clauses. Non finite subordination consists of relative, infinitive, purposive, converbial, nominalized-relativized clauses, and conditional and concessional clauses.

CHAPTER 13

SUMMARY

This chapter presents the summary and typological implications of the study. It consists of two sections. In section (13.1) we present the chapterwise summary of the study. Section (13.2) explores the typological implications of the study.

13.1 Summary of main findings

Chapter 1 presented the review of literature apart from the objectives and research methodology of the study.

In chapter 2, we discussed Pahari language, people and their culture. The main area of Paharis' habitation is along the rivulet of Kodku. The language is a nomenclature *loco - ethnonym* as Kodku Pahari (Kodpa)). *pihibhya* or *pi:bhya* is autoglotonym whereas Pahari is the exonym. Pahari is also called Nagarkoti as a breed of Newar father and Tamang mother. Their livelihoods rely on bamboo craft. They formed an organization entitled *NepaL Pahari Vikash Sangh* in 2056BS (1999). Paharis are recognized as a separate identity by the State. In the recent census their population (11,505) is mentioned as a separate ethnic group (CBS, 2001). However, there are only 2,995 speakers remaining. Among them 51.91% speakers live in the Kodku hamlet. In Kodku there are 1806 Paharis, of them 86.10% speak their language, and their attitude towards language is highly positive. Their language is not used in the print or electronic media, and the medium of instruction is not in their own language. The commitment of the government toward their language is almost zero. They produced at their own initiation a CD (*P chima Gi:t* 'western song'), a cultural Compact Disk of songs.

They are mongoloid by gene, olive in colour, indigenous by culture. Their nose is neither flat nor pointed. They put on cap, shirt, pant, trouser, males use belt and saree and blouse by the women.

The *kukudeyakari* worship Hindu, Buddhist and traditional deities. They perform their *dipuja*, 'the worshipping of clan deity' at *delmha khi*., in ward No2 of Badikhel VDC on the full moon day in the month of Magh according to Vikramavda calendar. They offer their puja for three days.

Camlya., is the main festival of the Kodku pahari speakers observed on Caitra Purnima. The festival is observed for four days. Dashain, Tihar are observed in a general way.

Kshma Puja 'worship' is performed for forgiveness at the end of the month of Ashadh and month of Mansir, seeking pardon from the natural deity / entity that is the earth. This worshipping is offered after the plantation as well as harvesting seasons.

Arwa: Puja and S cwa puja 'Saturday or Sunday worshipping' are performed at the time of Kshma Puja. These worships are performed especially on Saturday and Sunday, when *Sikaridyo* and *Ganesha* are worshiped. During these functions Arwa: Puja is observed which is similar to Aitbare Puja of the Danuwars of Duku village, Lalitpur. *Sikari dyo* 'the hunter-deity ', who protects people from wild animals, is worshipped by the people of nearby jungle dwellers.

Ghurmura: is observed on the 14th of dark phase of Bhadra by the Newars. The festival is a post plantation sanitation phenomenon. The people are obliged for the ecological chain. People offer food stuff to the frog that helps in consuming the harmful insects like mosquito, scorpion during the plantation.

Birth, marriage and death are the three vital rites. Birth is the prime human rite. In Pahari society they recognise a new bride when she has conceived after her monthly menses stops. At the time of first pregnancy she is fed *d hibuji nigau* 'yoghurt and rice-flake feeding' from her parents' side after the seventh month of conception'. It consists of a bulk of edible items viz rice flake, curd, meat. During *d hibuji nigau*, the couple must be present. The process of purification of a new baby as well as the mother is called *be iu* 'purification' held after three days of delivery for a male child whereas it takes place on the fifth day for a baby girl. The first feeding ceremony will be held at the beginning of the fifth month for a girl child or sixth month for a male baby depending upon the gender of a baby.

The existing marriage systems in this society are based both on love and family arranged. Nevertheless, in this society people have the practice of marrying more than a single wife. It is not permitted to wed within the same totem.

Death is the last rite of the human society. *Kukudeyakari* 'people of Kode' cremate the corpse by burning the body. The mourning period is for seven to nine days. They are now replacing their traditional priest and barber to follow the Brahmin tradition.

Dalbhat 'Nepali cuisine' is the main staple food. During their feast they depend on *buji* 'beaten rice'. Buffalo meat is the main item on special occasions. They use *t^hō* 'beer' and *ira* 'spirit' brewed at home in a traditional way. Bread, maize, soya, wheat are used as meal as well as snacks and tiffins.

Paharis enjoy observing the fair and feast that occur intermittently as per their calendar. Because of electricity line supplied at the village the *kukudeyakari* entertain themselves with Television and radios for information and news.

Paharis have many mis/beliefs about their life, tradition, agricultural practices, give and take and so on. Some of the beliefs are recorded here.

Pahari belongs to the Newarish branch of Himalish subsection, of Bodic division of Tibeto-Burman language family. However, the genealogical classification is still a matter of controversy.

According to Bradley (2002:75) Newari falls in the western Bodic division. Noonan (2003:23) placed Kathmandu, Dolakha Newar and Pahari in the Newarish Sub - section of Himalayish Subgroup.

The Paharis are scattered over the 110 VDCs of 40 districts across the eight zones of five Developmental Regions in the country. Badikhel, in Lalitpur is the only village Development Committee which has 51.91 % population of the total Pahari speakers.

In chapter 3, we have dealt with Phonology of Pahari language. It has 30 consonant sounds. They can be classified in terms of manner of articulation, place of articulation, voicing and aspiration. There are three categories of vowels: oral, nasal, and diphthong. The oral and nasal can be further divided into simple and long. There are six vowel sounds. They all have vowel length, nasal and nasal length counterparts. There are nine diphthongs. The distribution of the all the monophthongal vowels occur word initial positions, except nasal length, medial and final.

The basic syllable pattern of Pahari is (C) (C) (G) V (C), where G stands for glides and C for consonant. It shows two suprasegmentals: vowel length and nasalization. Pahari is a language without lexical tone.

In chapter 4 we have discussed the morphophonological processes such as assimilation, epenthesis, deletion and vowel harmony.

In chapter 5 we discussed the writing system. Pahari, an unwritten Tibeto - Burman language adapted Devanagari script, written in rightward horizontal axis with modifications that are suited to the language.

In Chapter 6, we dealt with the nominal morphology in Pahari, and discussed number, gender and case. There are singular and plural number inflections. Plural is marked with <-t > for general; <-si> for the specific plural counts, kinship, designation, honoured name, and pronoun. <-ja> is used in non-identified kinship.

Pahari has no grammatical gender. We discussed the cases in which morphological and functional morphemes are mentioned. Nominative, Pro drop, Ergative, Instrumental, Force, Ablative, Dative, Accusative, Allative, Associative, Locative, Genitive cases are discussed. Pro drop-agent is the special case that differentiates this language from the other varieties of Newar.

Derivation is the process of word building (formation) in which Nominalization and Compoundings were discussed.

In Pronouns Personal, Demonstrative, Interrogative and Reflexive pronouns were also discussed.

Chapter 7 discussed the adjectives of simple and derived types. The attributive, quantitative, pronominal, verbal are the simple adjectives whereas there is only one adjective type derived from the verb.

The numerals in Pahari are of simple and compound types (Joshi; 1984:105). One to ten are simple cardinals. 10 and its resultant numbers are simple numerals. In compound numerals

two numerals are added and productive numeral is obtained. 11 and greater numbers are produced through this process.

In chapter 8 we have discussed the verb and verb phrase in Pahari under the headings of Verb Stems, Verb Inflection Systems, Tense Aspect Forms, Modality, Auxiliary verbs and Derivational.

The Pahari verbs are classified into four major groups / class in terms of their alternations that take epenthesis prior to suffixation. Pahari verbs inflect for tense, number and person, which differ from Kathmandu Newar (KN). KN verbs inflect for tense, that is Past and Non-past and person, in a conjunct [Self(S)) and Disjunct (non self (NS)]. It has simple past and remote past (RPT) in the first and third singular. In aspect it inflects for imperfect (IMPFV) and perfective (PFV). <ma-> is the negative suffix, which occur before existential copula /khi/ 'be', with allomorphs <mu-> and <mi->. Kodku being a homogenous society, it has no vertical hierarchy in the society that are reflected the language. So no honorific pronouns and verbs exist in the language.

We have discussed the modal systems in Pahari under the headings of epistemic and deontic modalities. We have presented the markings of agent-oriented modality and discussed their functional meanings in Pahari. We have provided the evidence of the path of grammaticalization of these markers, wherever possible.

We have discussed derivational in which Causative, Nominalization, Noun incorporation, Adjectival Verbs, Adverbial Phrases are discussed.

Chapter 9 dealt with Adverbs, which modify verbs. They are of simple and derived types. Simple adverb represents time and location. The derivational adverb of manner consists of four main sources: Verbs, Adjectives, Pronouns and Phonesthetic words.

Addition of suffix <-*eya*> to the adjective stem is the commonest derivation found. Addition of <-*ka*> suffix prevalent in KN for adjectival derivation is rare in Pahari usage. Four functional demonstrative pronouns are in use: Proximate to addressor (A1), Proximate to addressee (A2), distal (D), and remote (R). Pronominal derived adjectives can be subcategorized into the following sub-classes: manner, quantity, anaphoric, comparative, temporal, location, reason, frequency, and classifier.

Chapter 10 discussed the classifiers of Pahari which are similar to Newar, one of the full fledged classifier languages in Nepal. The general characteristics of classifiers are suffixed to form noun phrase quantifier. In Pahari, the structure of a quantifier is *numeral-classifier-headword*.

The classifiers can be classified into *numeral* and *verbal*. Numeral classifiers are subdivided into *true* and *quasi*. True classifiers can be further divided into *animate* versus *inanimate*. Quasi classifiers can be further divided into *general*, *mass* and *measure*.

Special morphemes which only appear next to a numeral or a quantifier may categorize the referent of a noun in terms of its animacy, shape, and other inherent properties. These are Numeral classifiers. The structure of a Numeral classifier is *numeral-classifier-Noun*.

True classifiers are overt expressions of unit counting used with reference to structured units that are normally counted as individuals. Their choice is governed by the membership of the head in one or another of the quantifier class. They individuate head nouns that are indeterminate for number such as collective or mass nouns. They have no reality outside the numeral expression, i.e. true classifiers do not have independent meanings.

An animate classifier is used only for humans.

Verbal classifiers: appear on the verb, but they categorize a noun, which typically has an S (intransitive subject) or an O (direct object) function, in terms of its shape, consistency, and animacy. The structure of a verb classifier is *numeral-classifier-verb*. These are only few in number.

In chapter 11 Pahari particles are categorized into emphatics, postpositions and particles. Post position can be further divided into nine sub units namely: number, case, classifier, deictic, logical, modality, temporal, comparative and other. Particles are categorized into: abusive, affirmative, benedictive, hortative, inchoative, interrogative, negative, pathetic, quotative, and vocative.

Chapter 12 described the syntax of Pahari, which shows eight types of basic sentences. They can be applicable to the whole range of Pahari clauses. The basic constituent order in Pahari is SOV. The constituent order in the clause may be better characterized as relatively free. For topicalization and focusing the constituents may be permuted within the clause to a great extent. A noun in Pahari consists of a head element that is realized by a noun and optionally one or more modifiers. The obligatory noun may be optionally preceded by pre-nominal modifiers. Post modification is not productive in Pahari. The linear ordering of the pre-modifiers is relatively fixed. A verb can have tense, aspect, modality and other elements such as number and person markers, converb and causative markers, negation etc. They are arranged in a particular sequence. However, the sequence of these elements varies across the constructions. Pahari exhibits a complex agreement pattern.

Pahari presents major sentences like: copular, existential, questions, imperative, and optative. Similar to most of the South Asian languages, Pahari typically employs non-finite subordinate clauses instead of finite subordinate clauses to realize clause linkage. There are two types of converbs in Pahari: sequential and simultaneous.

Generally the subordination of the clause is carried out by nonfinite clause construction. Inter clausal linkages are handled by verbal affections rather than by free relational forms such as conjunctions.

13.2 Typological implications

The main goal of this section is to explore the typological implications of this study. The following sub sections 13.2.1 & 13.2.2 summarise the main features of the Pahari language with regard to the general characteristics in Bodish and Himalayish languages.

13.2.1 Phonological features

Pahari shares a number of phonological features characteristic to the Tibeto-Burman languages in general. Pahari, however, exhibits some phonological features which cut across the language family. Such features have been referred to as the south Asian features rather than Indian aerial features in this study (cf.Masica 1976; Abbi 2001). As far as possible we explore the language universals which underscore the unity underlying the diversity found in the phonology of the language.

a) Tonality

Tone is the significant phonological feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages (Zograph 1982: 188, Matisoff 2003:6). Not all the Tibeto- Burman languages exhibit this feature. Pahari lacks tone.

b) Syllabicity

Basically, Tibeto-Burman words are monosyllabic. Pahari also maintains the correspondence in this respect with the group of genetically related languages to a great extent. Moreover Pahari contains many words which have more than one syllable.

c) Vowels

Pahari exhibits six cardinal vowels with length counterpart. It has nasal and nasal length counterparts. All together it has 24 vowels and nine diphthongs.

d) Consonants

Pahari contains 30 consonant sounds. This is almost double the consonants proposed by Benedict for TB languages(1972:13). Pahari maintains correspondence in many features of consonants with the group of genetically related languages. Pahari, for instance, has in common with other languages, three voiceless stops/p,t,k/ with aspirated and non aspirated distinction, clear and breathy voice stops, three nasals /m, n, ŋ/, three groups s, z; r, l; h, two semi vowels /w, y/. so far as the number is concerned, Pahari, like Sanskrit, has a large number of stops, few fricatives and a symmetrical arrangement of aspirated and non - aspirated stops. Despite such diversity, we find a universal pattern in Pahari consonants. As in the most of the languages of the world, Pahari has three stops /p, t, k / in its consonant inventory.

e) Breathy voice

The murmur or breathy voice in Bodish language is considered as a concomitant of tone, typically associated with low tone. The Himalayish languages in general lack this phonological feature (Noonan 2003:16).Chepang exhibits this feature. However, this has been analyzed as a sequence of voiced consonant and /h/ (Caughley, 1970:279).like Chepang and the Bodish languages Pahari exhibits this feature in stops, nasal and liquids. but it is still uncertain whether Bodish languages at the proto-level had contrastive lexical tone.

f) Phonetic voicing contrast

This is the one of the universal contrast features of the language. No language has voiced stops without voiceless stops. In common with Chepang, even Nepali, Pahari shows the phonemic voicing contrast in stops. The Bodish languages lack the phonemic voicing contrast. We can observe this universal pattern in the Himalayish languages (Noonan, 2003:4).

g) Retroflex-dental contrast

In common with the Himalayish languages, Pahari also lacks the whole series of retroflex phonemes. Both the contact language Nepali and Bodish languages contain this feature. Reflexive- dental contrast is an aerial feature as well (Masica, 1976:187).

h) Stress

This is relatively weak in all Bodish and Himalayish languages as well as in the Pahari. The stress is placed on the word boundary position in Pahari.

i) Syllable canon

The syllable canon of the Pahari is very similar to the Newar. The canon consists of (C) (C) (G)V (X), where G stands for glide and X for consonant (C) or a vowel. It is also very similar with the syllable canon in the non-tonal TB languages proposed in Matisoff (2003).

13.2.2 Morpho-syntactic features

As in Morphology, in some features, Pahari maintains the correspondence with the genetically related languages and in some features it cuts across the language family. In general, Pahari has several features they are common to many TB languages.

a) Affixation

Prefixing is a common feature of the Bodish language. Bhujel with an exception of the prohibitive marker *ma-* is a suffixing language. The absence of the prefix is also an aerial feature (Masica, 1976).

b) complex verb morphology

In Bodish language there is no person/ number agreement on verbs. But the Himalayish languages are characterized by the complex system of the verbal / morphology. In common with the Himalayish languages in Pahari the person and number are marked on the verbs. Unlike the Himalayish languages including the Kiranti languages, Pahari has developed a unique system of person marking.

c) word order

Both Bodish and Himalayish exhibits SOV as a basic word order in the main clause. The SOV word order is not only the characteristic feature of the TB languages but also a South Asian feature proposed in Masica (1976:190). Greenberg (1963) has proposed a number of implicational universals associated with the basic SOV constituent order. Some of them are as follows:

There is a strong tendency for possessor noun phrases to precede the possessed noun phrases in verb-final languages.

There is strong tendency for verb-final languages to have postpositions.

There is strong tendency for verb-final languages to place relative clause before the head noun.

in verb-final languages the modifying element precedes the modified element.

d) Ergative syntax

Both Pahari and Newar show a consistently ergative-absolutive case system. This is a common feature of Bodish and Himalayish language as well. However, some Himalayish languages show split in animacy hierarchy (Noonan, 2003).

v) Morphological valence increasing strategies

The morphological valence increasing strategies such as morphological causative is present in the Pahari language. This feature is missing in both Bodish and Himalayish languages. It is present in the contact language Nepali. The morphological causatives are one of the aerial features proposed in Masica (1976: 189).

vi) Reflexive and numeral classifiers

As in the Himalayish languages, Pahari has inflectional reflexive. The numeral classifiers are absent in the Bodish languages. This feature is marginally present in the Pahari language.

vii) Verbal with nominal and adjectival functions

This feature is commonly present in both the Bodish and Himalayish languages, as well as in the Pahari language.

viii) Evidentiality expressed in the verb complex by the verbals

In Pahari evidentiality i.e witnessed / highly reliable vs. not witnessed or hearsay/not highly reliable is expressed by the verbals. This feature is absent in Himalayish languages.

ix) Dative subject construction

Both the Bodish and Himalayish languages lack this feature. However, Pahari presents this feature which is an aerial feature of the language (Masica, 1976:190).

x) converbal construction

Kiranti languages (Limbu, Bantawa, Athpare, Chamling) make remarkably little use of converbs. Unlike Kiranti languages Pahari extensively uses converbal constructions. Pahari presents two types of converbal constructions: simultaneous and sequential. This is not only one of the characteristic features of the Tibeto-Burman languages but also an aerial feature (Masica, 1976)

xi) complex predicate

Complex predicates are the aerial features (Masica, 1976). Pahari also has this feature.

xii) Other features

Apart from the features discussed above, Pahari exhibits some features which are common in the Tibeto-Burman languages. They include lack of relative pronouns, lack of passive constructions, and lack of inflectional gender and lack of writing system in the majority of TB languages.

13.3 Striking features of the Pahari language

Apart from the structural features presented in Table 13.2, Pahari exhibits a feature of pronoun drop or pro drop.

i. Pro drop

As mentioned earlier, perhaps the most interesting and striking features in Pahari are the markings for pro drop that are totally different from Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Dolakha, Tansen and Pokhara Newar. This is typologically significant.

ii. Mixed type of agreement

Pahari has no conjunct and disjunct agreement system. It has a mixed type of agreement, or a partial agreement for person and number agreements (for detail paradigm, see: Appendix v).

To sum up, Pahari is a verb-final language that employs a number of verbal inflections which bear most of the functional complexities.

APPENDIX I

PAHARI BASIC SENTENCES

Language Consultant: Mohan Bahadur Nagarkoti

1) $t^{sh} \tilde{a} na t^{s} ula?$

$t^{sh} \tilde{a}$ na $t^{s} ula$

2SG name Q

?

'What is your name?'

2) $t^{sh} \tilde{a} t^{sh} g^h t^h a?$

$t^{sh} \tilde{a}$ t^{sh} $g^h t^h a$

2SG house where

?

'Where is your house?'

3) $u d^z a gaun (khiu:).$

u $d^z a$ gaun khiu:.

This my village COP

म

'This is my village. '

4) $h dinkunu wad^f an o^s o .$

h din-**kunu** wa d^za-no **t^so-** .

That day-DET rain be-IMPV stay-3PST

ᄒ ᄒ ᄒ ᄒ

'It was raining that day.'

5) *u nu leg makhi:.*

u nu leg ma-khi:.

This my shoe NEG-COP

ᄒ

'This is not my shoe.'

6) *t^h r^h tann d^za.*

th rh tann d^za

Today hot be

ᄒ ᄒ ?

'It will be hot today.'

7) *h t^{sh} t^sek^hrō (d :).*

h t^{sh} - t^sek^hrō (d :).

3SG house-LOC cold COP

ᄒ ᄒ ᄒ ᄒ

'That house was very cold.'

8) *h munt^{sh}e sulaa?*

h munt^{sh}e sulaa?

3SG person who

ᑦ ᑦ ᑦ ?

'Who was that person?'

9) *h t^ha sima mur ∴.*

h t^ha sima mu-r .

There tree NEG-be

ᑦ ᑦ ᑦ

'There was no tree.'

10) *ut^ha ekko t^sat^siri du.*

ut^ha ekko t^sat^siri du

here many child COP

ᑦ

'Here are many children.'

11) *l g^h t^ha (du) ?*

l g^h t^ha (du) ?

way where COP

?

'Where is the way?'

12) *u n^huli twa k^hiu∴.*

u n^huli twa k^hiu:.

This new spade COP

'This is a new spade.'

- 13) *h twa mak^hi:.*

h twa ma-k^hi: .

that spade NEG-COP

̄

'That is not a spade.'

- 14) *h t^ha b^hat^sab^hit^si halu (du).*

h t^ha b^hat^sa b^hit^si halu (du).

there a bit RDP noise COP

̄ ɪ ̄ ɪ

'There was some noise.'

- 15) *ut^ha ekko ga du .*

ut^ha ekko ga du .

here many village COP

'Here are many villages.'

- 16) *nuda t^sek^hrō (du).*

nuda t^sek^hrõ du.

To me cold COP

'I am feeling cold. '

17) h ga d^haba (du).

h ga d^haba (du).

That village big COP

ṭ ḡ

'That village was very big.'

18) u kot^ha t^sit^so maḏ^zu / mak^hi:.

u kot^ha t^sit^so ma-d^zu / ma-k^hi:.

This room small NEG-be NEG-COP

'This room is not small.'

19) t^{sh} t^{sh} d^haba.

ch ch dhaba

your house big

ḡ ṡ

'Your house is big.'

20) h karija t^{sh} ekko t^sit^sa.

h kari-ja t^{sh} ekko t^sit^sa.

They-GEN house very small

१ रु १

'Their houses were very small.'

21) u l^h t d^{zh}ekka mur ∴.

u l^h -t d^{zh}ekka mu-r ∴.

this stone-PL heavy NEG-COP

इ रु हौं

'These stones are not heavy.'

22) h ja dala d^haba (du).

h -ja dala d^haba (du).

3S-GEN basket big COP

ॢ १

'His basket was big.'

23) h (h ja) t^{sh} purō k^hiu∴.

h (h -ja) t^{sh} purō k^hiu∴.

3S-GEN house old COP

१

'His house was old.'

24) h nu d^haba dad^zu k^hiu∴.

h nu d^haba dad^zu k^hiu:.

That my big brother COP

'He is my elder brother.'

- 25) *t^hima mesa k^hura telt^{sh}iu du.*

t^hi-ma mesa k^hura telt^{sh}iu du.

One-CF buffalo river cross COP

¶

'A buffalo was crossing the river.'

- 26) *luk^hu k^hukhra (du).*

luk^hu k^huk^hra (du).

water cold COP

¶

'The water is cold.'

- 27) *d^zi mid^zi t^san ko mid*

d^zi mid^zi t^san ko mi-d

1S yesterday night-LOC NEG-sleep

¶ ¶ ¶

'I did not sleep last night.'

- 28) *h t^ha sula di^sou (du).*

h t^ha sula di-t^sõ-u (du).

there who sleep-stay-3PST COP

ḥ f ?

'Who is sleeping there?'

29) t^{sh}ãu puro gwar v rs d u?

t^{sh}ãu puro gwar v rs d -u.

your son how many years be-3PST

f ʒ f ?

'How old is your son?'

30) bi:umure.

bi:-u mure

give-IMP PRB

'Don't give.'

31) a: t^{sh}iri diu.

a: t^{sh}iri di-u.

now we(INC) sleep-HRT .

f

'Let us sleep.'

32) t^sit^sima sunt^ho bu:.

t ^s it ^s ima	sunt ^h o	bu-:
Child	morning	bear-3PST
ᵐᵇ	f	ᵐᵇ f

'The child was born in the morning.'

- 33) d^zi h t^{hæ}ko / ga ko bu: k^hiu:.

d ^z i	h	t ^h æ-ko	/ ga -ko	bu:	khiu:
1SG		that place-LOC / village-LOC		born	COP
ᵐᵇ		ᵐᵇ	f		

'I was born in that village.'

- 34) h (h)kari d^{zh}a:(wa)t k^hiu:.

h	(h)kari	d ^{zh} a:(wa)-t	khiu:
they		shepherd-PL	COP

'They are shepherds.'

- 35) h bjapari makhi:.

h	bjapari	ma-khi:.
3SG	merchant	NEG-COP.
ᵐᵇ	f	

'He is not a businessman.'

- 36) (h)h t^ha t^{sh}ā t^sula d^zana t^sōer^ha.

(h)h t^ha t^{sh}ã t^sula d^za-na t^sõ-e r^ha
 there you what do-IMPV stay- INF EMP.

तै तै ?

'What are you doing there?'

37) b^h:na t^hima d^zu a d^{zh}ã: ri.

b^h:-na t^hi-ma d^zu a d^{zh}ã:-ri
 Cat-ERG one-CF bird catch-RPST

तै तै

'The cat caught a bird. '

38) b^hi: simako d^{zh}ana t^so du.

b^hi: sima-ko d^{zh}a-na t^so- du
 cat tree-LOC climb-IMPV stay-NML COP

तै रु तै

'The cat is climbing a tree.'

39) t^sit^sma simako d^{zh}au du.

t^sic-ma sima-ko d^{zh}a-u du.
 baby-CF tree-LOC climb-NML COP

रु तै

'The child is climbing on the tree.'

40) sulana h gōjata d^{zh}o .

sula-na h gō-jata d^{zh}o- .
 Who-ERG that cock-DAT graze-3NPT.

ḥ ḥ ?

'Who will catch the rooster?'

41) *h kari hid^ʔa nena t^sõu (du).*

h kari hid^ʔa ne-na t^sõ-u (du)
 they sweet potato eat-IMPV stay-NML COP

ḥ ḥ ḥ

'They are eating sweet-potatoes. '

42) *t^{sh}ã t^sja tu tina ra?*

t^{sh}ã t^sja tu- tina ra?
 You tea drink-INF ready EMP

ḥ ḥ ?

'Would you like to have some tea?'

43) *t^sula t^{sh}ã h luk^hu twa: na?*

t^sula t^{sh}ã h luk^hu twa:-na?
 what you that water drink-2SPST

ḥ ?

'Did you drink the water? '

44) *t^sula huna nu hid^za nj ri ?*

t^sula hu-na nu hid^za ni- -ri ?

what 3SG-ERG my sweet potato eat-A-3RPST

ꠤ ꠤ ?

'Did he eat the sweet-potato?'

45) *b^hi: simako mud^{zh}a:.*

b^hi: sima-ko mu-d^{zh}a:.

cat tree-LOC NEG-climb

ꠥ ꠥ

'The cat did not climb on the tree.'

46) *h kana t^sja nu ljã gogu r^ha?*

h ka-na t^sja nu ljã go-gu r^ha?

They-ERG tea my cloth burn-NML EMP

ꠥ ꠥ ꠥ ?

'Why they burn my clothes? '

47) *u a t^sa eja k^hiu:.*

u a t^sa e-ja khiu:.

This ring iron-POS COP

ꠥ

'This ring is made of iron.'

48) *t^{sh}arim d^he suljana h dala t^hau: r^ha.*

t^{sh}ari m d^he sulja-na h dala tha-u: r^ha.

You(PL) PPOS who-ERG that bucket weave-NML EMP

तपाईंहरूमध्ये ?

'Who made this bamboo basket among you?'

49) *t^{sh} ta r^sula la:*

t^{sh} -ta t^sula la-:

you-DAT what lie-PST

?

'What happened to you? '

50) *h g^hasa nimir^he.*

h g^hasa ni-mir^he

that meat eat-PRB

त

'Do not eat the meat.'

51) *a: d^za t^hui.*

a: d^za t^hu-i.

Now rice cook-IMP

'Now cook the rice.'

52) *t^sula h kana lati mat^{sh}u ra?*

t^sula h -na lati ma-t^{sh}u ra?

what 3SG-ERG leaf NEG-bake EMP

?

'Did not he burn the leaves?'

53) *e goe mijo.*

e goe mi-jo

iron burn NEG-STAT

ᑭᑭ

'Iron never burns.'

54) *h (h) luk^hu bahek t^{sh}unu nimid^zo.*

h (h) lukhu bahek t^{sh}u-nu ni-mi-d^zo.

3SG water except what-EMP eat-NEG be

ᑭ

'He does not take except water.'

55) *na u pjao w so t^sula he: ra?*

na u pja-o w so t^sula he: ra

PRO-ERG this wet-NML cloth what do EMP

ᑭ

?

'What can I do with these wet clothes?'

56) *t^sula h (h)na h (h)hid^za miniu /mine ra?*

t^sula h (h)-na h (h)hid^za mi-ni-u / mi-ne ra?

what 3SG-ERG that sweet potato NEG-eat-NML / NEG-eat EMP

तै ह (ह)ना ह (ह)हिद^zअ मि-नि-उ / मि-ने रा ?

'Did not he eat the sweet potato? '

57) *d^{zh}u a d^{zh}wã ri.*

d^{zh}u a d^{zh}wã- ri.

bird catch-3RPST.

द^झउ अ द^झवाँ- रि.

'The bird was caught.'

58) *t^{sh}ã sulja t^hana legu njo:na?*

t^{sh}a-~ su-lja t^ha-na legu njo:-na?

2sg-ERG who-GEN place- ABL shoe buy-2SG

() तै कान्जु ?

'With whom did you buy the shoes?'

59) *t^{sh}ãta u k mid^z sulana miur^ha?*

t^{sh}ã-ta u k mid^z sula-na mi-u r^ha?

2s-DAT this shirt who-ERG sell-NML EMP

तै कान्जु ?

'Who sold this shirt to you?'

60) *h (h)na t^{sh}uri miu.*

h (h)na t^{sh}uri miu.

१ ₹

'He sells knives.'

61) *na kint^{sh}i n^huli k mid^z ei*

na kint^{sh}i n^huli k mid^z e-i

1SG tomorrow new shirt buy-1SG.NPST

१ १ १क-६

'I shall buy a new shirt tomorrow.'

62) *h (h)na nuda b^hat^sa alu biu.*

h (h)-na nu-da b^hat^sa alu bi-u.

3SG-ERG me-DAT a few potato give-3PST

१ १

'He gave me some potatoes.'

63) *na h ja t^hana b^haca alu kani.*

na h -ja-t^ha-na b^haca alu ka-ni

1SG 3SG-POS-ALL-ABL a few potato take-1SG.PST

() १ १

'I take some potatoes with him.'

64) *h na od^za mimid^zo.*

h -na od^za mi:-mi-d^zo.

3SG-ERG fish sell-NEG-**STAT**

𑌕 𑌕

'He does not sell fishes.'

65) *t^sulana t^{sh} da nad^zu: t^hima pa tje bi i?*

t^sula na t^{sh} -da na^{dz}u: t^hi-ma pa tje bi i

what 1SG 2sg-DAT last year one-CF axe lend give 1RPST.

𑌕 𑌕

'Did I lend an axe to you last year?'

66) *t^sula na t^{sh} da h k^h mihi?*

t^sula na t^{sh} -da h k^h mi-hi

what 1SG 2SG-DAT that thing NEG-tell (vowel harmony)

𑌕 𑌕 ?

'Did I say that matter to you?'

67) *h jata u ja mamiu.*

h -jata u ja ma-mi-u.

3SG-DAT this paddy NEG-sell-3PST

𑌕

'This paddy was not sold to him.'

68) *h munt^{sh}ina t^hima lo:na h taha sja:ri.*

h munt^{sh}i-na t^hi-ma lo:-na h taha sja:-ri.

3SG person-ERG one-CF stick-INS that snake kill-3RPST

ḥ munt^{sh}i-na t^hi-ma lo:-na h taha sja:-ri.

'Did the man kill the snake with the stick?'

69) *lo:na taha sja:ri*

lo:-na taha sja:-ri

stick-INS snake kill-3RPST

lo:-na taha sja:-ri

'A snake was killed with a stick.'

70) *h munt^{sh}ina taha sja:ri.*

h munt^{sh}i-na taha sja:-ri.

3SG person-ERG snake kill-3RPST

ḥ munt^{sh}i-na taha sja:-ri.

'A snake was killed by a man.'

71) *t^{sh}urina s pale mire / d^himire.*

t^{sh}uri-na s pale mire / d^hi-mire.

Dagger-INS wood cut-PRB

t^{sh}uri-na s pale mire / d^hi-mire.

'Do not cut the wood with a knife.'

72) *sulana u t^{sh}urina g^hasa palu re?*

sula-na	u	t ^{sh} uri-na	g ^h asa	pal-u	re
who-ERG	this	dagger-INS	meat	cut-3PST	EMP
	१	२	?		

'Who cut the meat with this knife?'

73) *na h luk^huko nu w so hiu na.*

na	h	luk ^h u-ko	nu	w so	hi-u	na
1SG	3SG	water-LOC	my	cloth	wash-3PST	EMP
	३					

'I washed my clothes with the water.'

74) *t^sula t^{sh}ã luk^huko d^zu w so hiu na?*

t ^s ula	chã	luk ^h u-ko	d ^z u	w so	hi-u	na
what 2SG		water-LOC	only	cloth	wash-3PST	EMP
	१	३	?			

'Did you wash the clothes only with the water?'

75) *t^hu j mpa lina b^h kundo ^hap .*

t ^h u	j	mpa li-na	b ^h kundo	^h ap -ø
Self	right	foot-INS	ball	stop-IMP
५	१	३	४	

'Stop the ball with your right leg.'

76) $d^{zh}a\ m^h ana\ t^h ima\ g^h\ i\ k^h\therefore$

$d^{zh}a\ -m^h a-na\ t^h i-ma\ g^h\ i\ k^h\ -:$

Graze-NML-ERG one-CF tiger see-3PST

ख

'The shepherd saw a tiger.'

77) $na\ ekko\ t^{sh} eta\ ek^{\text{æ}}k\ k^h ani.$

$na\ ekko\ t^{sh} e-ta\ ek^{\text{æ}}k\ k^h a-ni.$

1SG many house-PL suddenly see-1SG.PST

रु

'I saw many house all of sudden.'

78) $t^{sh} \tilde{a}\ na\ nuja\ k^h\ tana\ ra?$

$t^{sh} \tilde{a}-na\ nu-ja\ k^h\ tana\ ra?$

2SG -ERG 1SG -GEN thing hear EMP

कहा

क

?

'Did you hear what I said? '

79) $t^s ula\ t^{sh} \tilde{a}\ h\ tola\ k^h\ na\ ra?$

$t^s ula\ t^{sh} \tilde{a}\ h\ tola\ k^h -na\ ra?$

what 2SG that hill see-2SG.PST EMP

कहा

ख

क

?

'Can you see that hill?'

80) *na t^himako si:ra: sono muk^h i.*

na t^{hi}-ma-ko si:ra: sono mu-k^h -i

1SG one-CF-LOC red flower NEG-see-1SG.NPST

𑌕 𑌕

'I did not see a single red flower.'

81) *na t^hisa munt^{sh}e kja k^hui i.*

na t^{hi}-sa munt^{sh}e kja- k^hui- i

1SG one-CF person run-3SG.PST see-1RPST

𑌕 𑌕

'I can see a man who is running.'

82) *h munt^{sh}ena h t^hana t^sula ta:o ra?*

h munt^{sh}e-na h -t^ha-na t^sula ta:-o ra

3SG person-ERG that-place-ABL what hear-3PST EMP

𑌕 𑌕 ?

'What did he hear from there? '

83) *t^{sh}ã t^sunu njou na ra?*

t^{sh}ã t^su-nu njo-u na ra

2SG what-EMP hear-A 2SG. PST EMP

𑌕 𑌕 𑌕 ?

'Do you hear some thing?'

84) *ut^hana j gwara tapa (du) ?*

u-t^ha-na j gwara tapa (du)

this ALL-ABL Kathmandu howmuch far COP

तु तपा कतलै ?

'How much far is Kathmandu from here?'

85) *h 't^{sh}it^ha megu salko laja.*

h t^{sh}i-t^ha megu sal-ko la-ja.

3SG we-ALL next year-LOC come-3NPST

ह

'He will visit us next year.'

86) *h kari t^{sh} t^{sh} hulu.*

h -kari ch ch hu-lu.

3SG-PL house RDP visit-3PST

ह ह

'They visited each house.'

87) *d^zesōm^ha k^hurako w :*

d^ze-sō-m^ha k^hura-ko w -:

work-act-CF river-LOC go-NPST

ह

'The farmer goes to the stream.'

88) *d̥esõm^h a t^hu bun a lajãu*

Jes-õ-mha thu bu-na lajã-u

work-act-CF self field-ABL go-3SG.PST

१ ५

'The farmer came from his field.'

89) *d^{zh}u a tolæ d^hinena bonu.*

d^{zh}u a tolæ d^hine-na bon-u.

bird hill above-ABL fly-3PST

४ १

'The birds flew away from the hill.'

90) *t na luk^hu sali.*

t -na luk^hu sal-i.

well-ABL water pull-IMP

'Draw the water from well.'

91) *h na simaja purko (t^hima) soroko hã: t^soina t^sõ du.*

h -na sima-ja pur-ko (t^hi-ma) soro-ko hã: t^so-i-na t^sõ du.

3SG-ERG tree-POS under-LOC one-CF horse-LOC body stay-INF-PTP stay
COP

ॢ ४ १ १

'He is riding a horse under the tree.'

92) *nu^h rk^he go.*

nu^h rk^he go

My in front of walk

ᶑ ᶑ

'Walk in front of me.'

93) *h ja lumk^he go.*

h -ja lumk^he go.

3SG-GEN back walk

ᶑ ᶑ

'Walk behind of me.'

94) *na t^{sh} : dalako hak^hra l^h : tani.*

na t^{sh} : dala-ko hak^hra l^h : ta-ni.

1SG 2SG bucket-LOC black stone put-1SG.PST

ᶑ

'I put the black stone into your basket.'

95) *nu pasaja purona h ja(æ) m n ya na bja eu (du).*

nu pasa-ja puro-na h -ja m n -ja na bja (h)e-u
(du).

My friend-GEN son-ERG 3SG-GEN sister-GEN with wedding do-3SG.PST COP

ᶑ ᶑ ᶑ ᶑ

'My friend's son has married his sister. '

96) *nu d^husana t^{sh} : la liskja.*

nu d^husa-na t^{sh} : la liskja-o.

my vertebra-ABL 2SG hand draw-IMP

१ ठ १ म १

'Keep out your hand from my back.'

97) *h ja (æ) t^{sh} : t^s kuna labd^z palu:*

h -ja t^{sh} : t^s ku-na labd^z pal-u:

3SG-GEN 2SG knife-INS finger cut-3PST

१ म क ट

'He cut his finger with your knife. '

98) *d^zi murub^h t^{sh}ā h ja (æ) t^s kku ca:l^heu na.*

d^zi mu-ru-b^h t^{sh}ā h -ja t^s kku t^sa: l-he-u na

1SG NEG-be-time 2SG 3SG-GEN knife move-do-NML 2SG.PST

क

'Did you use my knife when I was not there?'

99) *na nu li tot^hulani, ale nu dala to ani.*

na nu li tot^hula-ni, ale nu dala to a-ni.

1SG my foot break-SG.PST, then my bucket lose-1SG.PST

ह , १

'I broke my leg and lost my basket.'

- 100) *t^{sh} t^sebaja t^{sh}e gwara purod^za du?*

ch	t ^s eba-ja	t ^{sh} e-	gwara	puro-d ^z a	du
2SG	uncle-GEN	house-LOC	how many	son-PL	COP
	ᵐᵃ	ᵐ	?		

'How many sons are there in your uncle's house?'

- 101) *nu sousa dad^zu w peu^da m n d^za du.*

nu	sou-sa	dad ^z u	w	peu-d ^z a	m n -d ^z a	du
my	three-CF	elder brother	and	four-CF	brother-CF	COP

'I have four elder brothers and four younger brothers.'

- 102) *h ja (æ) puro m^hjam^sasina tad^za.*

h -ja puro m^hjam^sa-sina tad^za.
3SG-POS son daughter-than tall

ᵐ ᵐᵃ ᵐ

'His son is taller than daughter.'

- 103) *h t^ha (hã) t^sit^so som^ha tuir^ha kud^zu w d^had^hou hak^hra kud^zu du.*

h t ^h a (hã)	t ^s it ^s o	so-m ^h a	tuir ^h a	kud ^z u w	d ^h ad ^h ou	hak ^h ra	kud ^z u	du.
that-ALL (there)	small	three-CF	white dog	and big	black dog			COP
	ᵐ					ᵐ		

'There were three small white dogs and three big black dogs.'

- 104) *t^{sh}ã hã(h)t^ha t^sowa pipa hak^hara l^hõ du: d^habau tuirau tola k^hu da:.*

t^{sh}ã hã(h)tha t^so-wa pi-pa hak^hara l^hõ du-:

2SG that-ALL top-LOC four-CF black stone COP-NML

dhaba-u tuira-u tola khu- da:

big-DET white-DET hill see-NPT COP.

ᑕ

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ᑭ

ᑭ

'You can see the hill with four small stones at peak.'

- 105) *hæta pãt^s kilo d^zai w tin kilo hid^za bi:*

h -jata pãt^s kilo d^zai w tin kilo hid^za bi-:

3SG-DAT five kilo rice and three kilo sweet potato give-IMP

ᑭ

ᑭ

ᑭ

'Give five kilos of rice and three kilos of sweet-potatoes to him.'

- 106) *d^zat^ha soma t^hõla w pima t^{sh}uri du.*

d^za-t^ha so-ma t^hõla w pi-ma t^{sh}uri du.

we-ALL three-CF utensils and four-CF knife COP

ᑭ

'We have three utensils and four knives.'

- 107) *t^{sh} : ga ko gu^{kh}ara t^{sh}e du?*

t^{sh} : ga -ko gu-k^ha ra t^{sh}e du?

2S village-LOC how many CF EMP house COP

१

'How many houses are there in your villages?'

108) *u mesana gwara luk^hu tōi jo?*

u mesana gwara luk^hu tō-ijo

This buffalo how much water drink- STAT

१ २ ?

'How much water does this buffalo drink?'

109) *na hōkana s t^{sh}o ganato t^sō k^hoi i.*

na hōka-na s t^{sh}o-ga-na to t^sō k^ho-i- i

1SG they-ERG wood burn-K-IPFV EMP stay see-NPST-1SG.RPST

३ ४

'I saw them burning the firewood.'

110) *nu pasana d^{zh}u t^hu kud^zu namalagini.*

nu pasa-na d^{zh}u t^hu kud^zu na-ma-lag-i-ni.

1SG friend-ERG still self dog meet-NEG lie-NPST-1SG.PST

५ ६

'My friend has not found his lost dog yet.'

111) *na dala thjæ mas .*

na dala t^hja-e ma-s .

1SG bucket weave-INF NEG-know

ᐃ ᐅ ᐅ

'I do not know how to make a basket.'

112) hãt^ha d^zi w mp^h i.

hãt^ha d^zi w -mu-p^h -i.

there 1SG go-NEG-able-NPT

ᐅ ᐃ

'I could not go there. '

113) hã t^{sh}i ga ja p^hukkåsin d^haba munt^{sh}e heijo.

h t^{sh}i ga -ja p^hukkå sin d^haba munt^{sh}e he ijo.

3SG WE(EXC) village-POS all than great person tell-SH

ᐅ ᐅ ᐅ () ᐅ

'It is said that he is the oldest man in our village.'

114) d^zi t^h ra t^{sh} lja mǎru.

d^zi t^h ra t^{sh} - lja-mǎru.

1SG today house-LOC go-like

ᐅ

'I want to go my house today.'

115) t^{sh}ã dala t^hæ siu na?

t^{sh}ã dala t^ha-e si-u-na
 2SG bucket weave-INF know-A-2SG.PST

क जान्नुहुन्छ?

'Do you know how to make a basket?'

116) t^sula hãna b^hat^sit^sa hid^za k^h nimamuru t^sa?

t^sula h -na b^hat^sit^sa hid^za k^h ni-ma-muru t^sa
 what 3SG-ERG a few sweetpotato EMP eat-NEG-like EMP

१ १ ८ ?

'Did he not like to eat sweet-potatoes?'

117) t^{sh}ina æta guhari bi:ma.

t^{sh}i-na h -yata guhari bi-: ma.
 we(EXC)-ERG 3SG-DAT help give-INF need

६ गनुपछ।

'Now, we should help him.'

118) hana b^hat^sit^sa nimalaiko hak^ha kosis heo tini.

h -na b^hat^sit^sa ni-ma-lai-ko hak^ha kosis he-o tini.
 3SG-ERG little eat-like-PURP-LOC again try do-NML ready

१ निम्ति १ १

'He will try again to get some food.'

119) hana t^{sh}ã s palki muru t^sa.

h -na t^{sh}ã s pal ki muru t^sa.

3SG-ERG 2SG wood cut EMP like feel

ᵛᵛ ᵛᵛ ᵛᵛ

'He likes to say you to cut the firewood.'

120) *na ramjata b^ho: biu ni.*

na Ram-jata b^ho: bi-u- ni.

1SG Ram-DAT book give-A-1SG.PST

ᵛᵛ ᵛᵛ

'I gave a book to Ram.'

121) *na d^za ne:ni.*

na d^za ne:-ni.

1SG rice eat-A-1SG.PST

'I ate rice.'

122) *d^zi b d^zar ko w :ni.*

d^zi b d^zar-ko w :-ni.

1SG market-LOC go-1SG.PST

'I went to market.'

123) *d^zi n^hela ni.*

dʒi n^hel-a-ni.

1SG laugh-A-1SG.PST

'I laughed.'

124) *nuda u baba jo.*

nu-da u baba jo

1SG-DAT this boy like

'I like this boy. '

125) *nuda u leg thikk dʒu:*

nu-da u leg thikk dʒu:

1SG-DAT this shoe appropriate COP

त ई क न

'This shoe is fits for me.'

126) *lok^ha alu.*

lok^ha al-u.

door open-3PST

घि

'The door opened/ the door was opened. '

127) *munt^{sh}e birami dʒ u.*

munt^{sh}e birami d^z -u.

Person sick COP-3PST

𑂔𑂗𑂢𑂰

'The man became sick.'

128) *Ramjata pari henu.*

Ram-jata pari hen-u.

Ram-DAT abdomen irritate-3PST

𑂔𑂗𑂢𑂰

'Ram felt hungry.'

129) *Ramjata t^sarhanu.*

Ram-jata t^sarhan-u.

Ram-DAT itch-3PST

𑂔𑂗𑂢𑂰

'Ram felt itching. '

130) *n^hja tonu.*

n^hja ton-u.

Sun shine-3PST

𑂔𑂗𑂢𑂰

'The sun rose. '

131) *wa u.*

wa -u.

Rain come-3PST

f

'It rained. '

132) *nu sousa m nd^ɛa du.*

nu sou-sa m n-d^ɛa du.

my three-CF brother-CF COP

'I have three brothers.'

133) *nuda jã d^ɛe du.*

nu-da jã d^ɛe du.

i-DAT Kathmandu work COP

'I have some work in the city.'

134) *baba t^s lak^h(du).*

baba t^s lak^h (du).

Boy clever COP

'The boy is clever. '

135) *baba d^ɛa: k^hiu:.*

baba d^za: k^hiu:.

boy shepherd COP

'The boy is shepherd.'

136) *ut^ha nund^ha.*

ut^ha nun-d^ha.

Here warm-feel

८

'It is warm here.'

137) *dahã t^sek^hro (du).*

dahã t^sek^hro (du).

Inside cold COP

१३७

'It is warm inside.'

138) *Ramna mid^zo d^za ni ri.*

Ram-na mid^zo d^za ni- -ri.

Ram-ERG yesterday rice eat-A-3RPST

१

'Ram ate rice yesterday.'

139) *t^sula mid^zi Ramna d^za ni ri?*

t ^s ula	mid ^z i	Ram-na	d ^z a	ni- -ri
What	yesterday	Ram-ERG	rice	eat-A-3RPST
	ʃ	?		

'Did Ram eat yesterday? '

140) *Ramna mid^zi t^sula neu?*

Ram-na	mid ^z i	t ^s ula	ne-u
Ram-ERG	yesterday	what	eat-3PST
	ʃ	?	

'What did Ram eat yesterday? '

141) *mid^zi sulana d^za neu?*

mid ^z i	sula-na	d ^z a	ne-u
Yesterday	who-ERG	rice	eat-3PST
	ʃ	?	

'Who ate rice yesterday? '

142) *mid^zi Ramna t^sula heu?*

mid ^z i	Ram-na	t ^s ula	he-u
Yesterday	Ram-ERG	what	tell-3PST
	ʃ	ʃ?	

'What did Ram eat yesterday? '

143) *Ramna g hila d^za neu?*

Ram-na g hile ra d^za ne-u

Ram-ERG when EMP rice eat-3PST

ʃ ?

'When did Ram eat rice? '

144) *Ram d^za ne.*

Ram d^za ne-∅

Ram rice eat-IMP

'Ram, Take the food. '

145) *mid^zi d^za ne^{u-m}a Ram he k^hiu r^ha?*

mid^zi d^za ne-u-m^ha Ram he k^hiu r^ha?

Yesterday rice eat-DET-REL Ram EMP COP PART

ʃ ʃ ?

'It was Ram who ate food yesterday.'

146) *t^sula mid^zi d^za ne^{u-m}a Ram he k^hiu?*

t^sula mid^zi d^za ne-u-m^ha Ram he k^hiu

What yesterday rice eat-DET-REL Ram EMP COP

ʃ ʃ ?

'Was it Ram, Who ate rice yesterday?'

147) *t^sula mid^zi Ramna neud^za o k^hiu?*

t^sula mid^zi Ram-na ne-u d^za o k^hiu?

What yesterday Ram-ERG eat-NML rice EMP COP.

ʔ ʔ ?

'Was that rice, what Ram ate yesterday?'

148) *t^sula Ramna d^za neu mid^zi k^hiu?*

t^sula Ram-na d^za ne-u mid^zi k^hiu

What Ram-ERG rice eat-NML yesterday COP

ʔ ?

'Was it yesterday, when Ram ate food?'

149) *mid^zi d^za neu^ha sula (k^hiu)?*

mid^zi d^za ne-u-m^ha sula (k^hiu)

yesterday rice eat-DET-NML who COP

ʔ ʔ ?

'Who was the person to eat the rice yesterday?'

150) *mid^zi Ramna neu t^sula?*

mid^zi Ramna ne-u t^sula?

yesterday Ram-ERG eat-DET who

ʔ ʔ ?

'What did Ram eat rice? '

151) *Ramna d^za neu g hila r^ha?*

Ram-na d^za ne-u g hila r^ha?

ram-ERG rice eat-DET when EMP

ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ?

'When did Ram eat rice? '

152) *Mid^zi Ramna d^za t^sulheu r^ha?*

Mid^zi Ram-na d^za t^sula he-u r^ha

Yesterday Ram-ERG rice what do-DET EMP

ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ?

'What did Ram do with rice yesterday?'

153) *Ramna d^za ni :.*

Ram-na d^za ni- :

ram-ERG rice eat-NPST

ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ

'Ram eats rice. '

154) *Ramna d^za ni n(a) t^sõ: du.*

Ram-na d^za ni- -n(a) t^sõ:- du.

ram-ERG rice eat-A-IMPV stay-AGR COP

'Ram is eating rice. '

155) *Ramna d^za ni n(a) t^sõu.*

Ram-na d^za ni- -n(a) t^sõ-u.

Ram-ERG rice eat-A-IMPV stay- 3PST

f

'Ram was eating rice.'

156) *Ramna d^za ni u.*

Ram-na d^za ni- -u.

Ram-ERG rice eat-A-3PST

'Ram has eaten rice. '

157) *Ramna d^za niu k^hiu.*

Ram-na d^za ni-u k^hiu.

Ram-ERG rice eat-DET COP

f

'Ram had eaten rice.'

158) *Ramna d^za nen(a) t^sõu du.*

Ram-na d^za ne-n(a) t^sõ-u du.

Ram-ERG rice eat-IMPV stay-DET COP

'Ram is eating rice. '

159) *Ramna d^za njn(a) t^sõu k^hiu.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ne-n(a)	t ^s ũ-u	k ^h iu.
ram-ERG	rice	eat-IMPV	stay-DET	COP

†

'Ram was eating rice. '

160) *Ramna d^za ni ∴.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ni- ∴:
ram-ERG	rice	eat-A-NPST

'Ram will eat rice. '

161) *Ramna d^za neu d^zuima:*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ne-u	d ^z u-i	ma:
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-NML	be-INF	need

;

'Ram has to eat rice. '

162) *Ramna d^za nema:.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ne	ma:
Ram-ERG	rice	eat	need

;

'Ram should have eaten rice.'

163) *Ramna d^za ni: u ma.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ni: u	ma
Ram-ERG	rice	eat EMP	need

;

'Ram must eat rice. '

164) *Ramna d^za ne: mau k^hiu.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ne-:	ma-u	k ^h iu.
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-INF need-DET	COP	

३ f

'Ram had to eat rice.'

165) *Ramna d^za ni: p^h ∴.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ni-:	p ^h ∴
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-INF able	

४

'Ram may eat rice.'

166) *Ramna d^za ni: p^h ∴.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ni-:	p ^h ∴.
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-INF able	

४

'Ram can eat rice. '

167) *Ramjata d^za negita biu.*

Ram-jata d^za ne-g-i-ta bi-u.

Ram-DAT rice eat-K-INF-PURP give-IMP

दिइन्छ

'Ram is allowed to eat rice.'

168) *Ramjata d^za negita biu.*

Ram-jata d^za ne-g-i-ta bi-u.

Ram-DAT rice eat-K-INF-PURP give-IMP

दि

'Ram is made to eat rice. '

169) *Ramjata d^za negita biu.*

Ram-jata d^za ne-g-i-ta bi-u.

Ram-DAT rice eat-K-INF-PURP give-IMP

दि

'Ram is forced to eat rice.'

170) *Ramjata d^za negiu.*

Ram-jata d^za ne-g-i-u.

Ram-DAT rice eat-K-INF-DET

दि

'Rice is fed to Ram. '

171) *Ramna d^za ni:ta m^ha.*

15

19

3

Ram-na	d ^z a	ni-:	tari
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-INF	ready

;

'Ram is getting ready to eat rice. '

176) *Ramna d^za niu d^zui ma.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ni-u	d ^z u-i	ma
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-DET	be-INF	OPT

;

'Ram must have eaten rice. '

177) *Ramna d^za niu d^zui ma:.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ni-u	d ^z u-i	ma:
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-DET	be-INF	need

हुनुपर्छ।

'Ram might have eaten rice.'

178) *Ramna d^za niusi d^ziu.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ni-u-si	d ^z i-u.
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-DET-IF	be-3PST

ने

'It would be better if Ram would have eaten rice. '

179) *Ramna d^za ne: du i d^zui ma.*

Ram-na d^za ne-: du -i d^zu-i ma.

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF PFV-INF be-INF OPT

क ि

'Ram could have finished eating rice. '

180) *Ramna d^za ne: du u k^hi: ma:.*

Ram-na ja ne-: du -u khi-: ma:.

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF PFV-DET be-INF need

'Ram could have finished eating rice.'

181) *Ramjata d^za ni: ma d^za.*

Ram-jata d^za ni-: ma d^za.

Ram-DAT rice eat INF need be

f

'Ram might have finished rice. '

182) *Ramna d^za ni: du ari d^za.*

Ram-na d^za ni-: du -a-ri d^za.

Ram-DAT rice eat INF PFV-A-RPST be

'Ram may have to go. '

183) *Ramna d^za ni: ma ja.*

Ram-na d^za ni-: ma d^za.

Ram-DAT rice eat-INF need be

'Ram may have to eat rice.'

184) *Ramjata d^za ni:u ma:.*

Ram-jata d^za ni-: u ma:.

Ram-DAT rice eat-INF EMP need

'Ram might have to eat rice. '

185) *Ramna d^za ni: p^ha ra.*

Ram-na d^za ni-: p^ha ra

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF able EMP

ॐ

'Ram may be able to eat rice. '

186) *Ramna d^za ni:t m^halo.*

Ram-na d^za ni-:-ta m^hal-o.

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF-PURP search-3PST

ॐ

'Ram may want to eat rice. '

187) *Ramna d^za ni: muru t^sa.*

Ram-na dʒa ni:- muru tʰa.

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF like feel

'Ram may like to eat rice.'

188) *Ramjata dʒa ni: muru tʰa.*

Ram-jata dʒa ni:- muru tʰa.

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF like feel

'Ram might like to eat rice. '

189) *Ramjata dʒa ni: mau.*

Ram-jata dʒa ni:- ma-u.

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF like-3PST

पश्य।

'Ram used to like eat rice. '

190) *Ramna dʒa ni: muru tʰau.*

Ram-na dʒa ni:- muru tʰa-u.

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF like feel-3PST

पश्ये

'Ram used to wish to eat rice.'

191) *Ramjata dʒa nigi mau.*

Ram-jata d^za ni-g-i ma-u.

Ram-DAT rice eat-K-INF need-3PST

१ पथ्या।

'Ram should be given rice to eat.'

192) *Ramjata d^za nigita biu.*

Ram-jata d^za ni-g-i-ta bi-u.

Ram-DAT rice eat-K-INF-PURP give-3PST

१ १

'Rice was given to Ram to eat.'

193) *Ramna d^za ni: p^hari.*

Ram-na d^za ni:- p^ha-ri.

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF able-3PST

क

'Ram has been able to eat rice.'

194) *Ramna d^za ni: murut^sa.*

Ram-na d^za ni:- muru t^sa.

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF like feel

'Ram has liked to eat rice.'

195) *Ramna d^za ni: p^h : d^za.*

Ram-na d^za ni-: p^h : d^za.

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF able be

सकथ्यो

'Ram could be able to eat rice.'

196) *Ramna d^za ni: p^h :*

Ram-na d^za ni-: p^h :

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF able

क्

'Ram probably could have finished eating rice. '

197) *Ramna d^za ni: p^h :*

Ram-na d^za ni-: p^h :

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF able

'Probably, Ram may eat rice.'

198) *Ramna d^za ni: p^h :*

Ram-na d^za ni-: p^h :

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF able

क्

'Ram probably may be able to eat rice.'

199) *Ramna d^za nen(a) t^sõu: du.*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ne-n(a)	t ^s õ-u:	du.
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-IMPV	stay-DET	COP

'Ram probably has been eating rice. '

200) *Ramna d^za nen(a) t^sõu: du*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ne-n(a)	t ^s õ-u:	du.
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-IMPV	stay-DET	COP

'Ram probably will be eating rice. '

201) *Ramna sajad d^za nen(a) t^sõu: du-i-ma:.*

Ram-na	sajad	d ^z a	ne-n(a)	t ^s õ-u:	du-i	ma:
Ram-ERG	probably	rice	eat-IMPV	stay-DET	COP-INF	need

'Probably, Ram will be eating rice. '

202) *Ramna sajad d^za nen(a) t^sõu: du-i-ma:.*

Ram-na	sajad	d ^z a	ne-n(a)	t ^s õ-u:	du-i	ma:
Ram-ERG	probably	rice	eat-IMPV	stay-DET	COP-INF	need

'Ram may be eating rice. '

203) *Ramna d^za mine. ne -u ra?*

Ram-na	d ^z a	mi-ne?	ne-u	ra
Ram-ERG	rice	NEG-eat	eat-3PST	EMP
	?	?		

'Did Ram not eat rice? Did he?'

204) *Ramna d^za ni- - ri.mi ne- ra?*

Ram-na	d ^z a	ni- -ri.	mi-ne-	ra
Ram-ERG	rice	eat-A-3RPT	NEG-eat-3PST	EMP
	,	?		

'Ram ate rice, did not he? '

205) *d^za nium^h Ram u k^hiu:. mak^hi ra le?*

d ^z a	ni-u- m ^h	Ram u	k ^h iu:.	ma-k ^h i:	ra	le
rice	eat-INF-NML	Ram EMP	COP.	NEG-COP	EMP	EMP
	f	,	?			

'It was Ram who ate rice. Was not he?'

206) *Ramna niu d^za u k^hiu. mak^hi ra le?*

Ram-na	ni-u	d ^z a	u	k ^h iu:.	ma-k ^h i:	ra	le?
Ram-ERG	eat-NML	rice	EMP	COP.	NEG-COP	EMP	EMP
	f	,	f	?			

'It was rice that Ram ate. Was not it?'

207) *Ramna d^za niu mid^zu u k^hiu:. mak^hi: ra le?*

Ram-na d^za ni-u mid^zu u k^{hi}u:. ma-khi: ra le

Ram-ERG rice eat-NML yesterday emp COP. NEG-COP EMP EMP

f , ?

'It was yesterday, that Ram ate rice. '

208) *Ramna d^za niu miju u khiu:. Makhi: ra le?*

Ram-na d^za ni-u mid^zu u k^{hi}u:. ma-k^{hi}i: ra le

Ram-ERG rice eat-NML yesterday emp COP. NEG-COP EMP
EMP

f ?

'Was it not yesterday that Ram ate rice?'

209) *Ramna d^za mine.*

Ram-na d^za mi-ne

Ram-ERG rice NEG-eat

'Ram did not eat rice. '

210) *t^sula Ramna d^za mine.*

t^sula Ram-na d^za mi-ne

What Ram-ERG rice NEG-eat

?

'Did Ram not eat rice? '

211) *Ramnamid^ɛi t^sula mine*

Ram-na mid^ɛi t^sula mi-ne

Ram-ERG yesterday what NEG-eat

ʔ ?

'What did Ram not eat yesterday?'

212) *Ramna d^ɛa g hile mine*

Ram-na d^ɛa g hile mi-ne

Ram-ERG rice when NEG-eat

ʔ ?

'When did Ram not eat rice?'

213) *Ram! d^ɛa ni mire*

Ram! d^ɛa ni mire

Ram! rice eat PRB

! !

'Ram, do not eat rice!'

214) *Ram! d^ɛa ni mire*

Ram! d^ɛa ni mire

Ram! rice eat PRB

, !

'Ram, let you not eat rice.'

215) *sulana mid^ɛi d^ɛa niu h Ram mak^hi:*.

sula-na mid^ɛi d^ɛa ni-u h Ram ma-k^hi:
 who-ERG yesterday rice eat-3PST 3 Ram NEG-COP

፡ ፡

'That is not Ram who ate rice.'

216) *Ramna mid^ɛi t^sula neu hã d^ɛa mak^hi:*.

Ram-na mid^ɛi t^sula ne-u hã d^ɛa ma-k^hi:
 Ram-ERG yesterday what eat-NML that rice NEG-COP

፡ ፡

'What Ram ate yesterday was not rice.'

217) *mid^ɛi sulana d^ɛa neu hã Ram mak^hi:*.

mid^ɛi sula -na d^ɛa ne-u hã Ram ma-k^hi:
 yesterday who-ERG rice eat-NML 3 Ram NEG-COP

፡ ፡

'That is not Ram who ate rice yesterday.'

218) *mid^ɛi sulana d^ɛa mine hã Ram mak^hi:*.

mid^ɛi sula-na d^ɛa mi-ne hã Ram ma-k^hi:
 yesterday who-ERG rice NEG-eat 3 Ram NEG-COP

፡ ፡ ፡ ?

'Who was the man, who did not eat rice yesterday?'

223) *Ramna dʒa nen tʰõ makʰi:*.

Ram-na dʒa ne-na tʰõ ma-kʰi:

Ram-ERG rice eat-IMPV stay NEG-COP

¶

'Ram was not eating rice.'

224) *Ramna dʒa mineni.*

Ram-na dʒa mi-ne ni.

Ram-ERG rice NEG-eat EMP

'Ram has not eaten rice.'

225) *Ramna dʒa mineni dʒa.*

Ram-na dʒa mi-ne ni dʒa

Ram-ERG rice NEG-eat ERG be

¶

'Ram had not eaten rice.'

226) *Ramna dʒa neu makʰi dʒa.*

Ram-na dʒa ne-u ma-kʰi dʒa

Ram-ERG rice eat-NML NEG-COP EMP

'Ram may not eat rice.'

227) *Ramna dʒa neu mak^{hi}:*

Ram-na dʒa ne-u ma-k^{hi}:

Ram-ERG rice eat-NML NEG-COP

'Ram does not eat rice.'

228) *Ramna dʒa nj : dʒa*

Ram-na dʒa ni : dʒa

Ram-ERG rice eat-SH be

'Ram may eat rice.'

229) *Ramna dʒa ni: lo*

Ram-na dʒa ni:-lo

Ram-ERG rice eat-EVT

'I came to know that Ram has eaten rice.'

230) *Ramna dʒa mini: lo*

Ram-na dʒa mi-ni:-lo.

Ram-ERG rice NEG-eat-EVT

'I came to know that Ram has not eaten rice.'

231) *Ramna dʒa neu bʰ ...*

Ram-na dʒa ne-u bʰ ...

Ram-ERG rice eat-NML time

.....

'when Ram ate rice....'

232) *Ramna dʒa ni:dʒa ʰo...*

Ram-na dʒa ni-: dʒa ʰo...

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF EMP ago

☞ f

'Before Ram ate rice...'

233) *Ramna dʒa neu bʰ ...*

Ram-na dʒa ne-u bʰ ...

Ram-ERG rice eat-NML time

.....

'While Ram was eating ... '

234) *Ramna dʒa neu tile...*

Ram-na dʒa ne-u tile...

Ram-ERG rice eat-DET upto

☞

'Until Ram is eating rice... '

235) *Ramna dʒa nenale...*

Ram-na dʒa ne-na-le...

Ram-ERG rice eat-IMPV-PPOS

ʃ

'After Ram eat rice ... '

236) *g hile Ramna dʒa neu ale...*

g hile Ram-na dʒa ne-u ale...

when Ram-ERG rice eat-3PST then

ʃ ʃ

'At the time when Ram ate rice... '

237) *Ramna dʒa neu bʰ ...*

Ram-na dʒa ne-u bʰ ...

Ram-ERG rice eat-3PST time

....

'While Ram was eating ... '

238) *Ramna dʒa ne:ta dʒu:bʰ ...*

Ram-na dʒa ne:-ta dʒu: bʰ ...

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF-PURP be time

ʃ

'When Ram started to eat rice ... '

239) *Ramna d^za ni: b^h tilje...*

Ram-na d^za ni:-b^h tilje...

Ram-ERG rice eat-INF-time upto

२। ५ ...

'Till Ram suppose to eating ...'

240) *Ramna dʒa niutilja...*

Ram-na d^za ni-u-tilja...

Ram-ERG rice eat-DET-till

..... 16

'Till Ram is eating ... '

241) *Ramna ḍʷa nena ṭ^sõu b^h k^h ale..*

Ram-na d^za ne-na t^sõ-u b^h k^h ale..

Ram-ERG rice eat-IMPV stay-DET time EMP then

f f

'Even though Ram was eating rice... '

242) *Ramna dʒa nena t^sõu b^h k^h*

Ram-na d^za ne-na t^sõ-u b^h k^h

Ram-ERG rice eat-IMPV stay-DET time EMP

f

‘Though Ram was eating rice...’

243) *Ramna dʒa nena t̚õu na..*

Ram-na dʒa ne-na t̚õ-u-na..

Ram-ERG rice eat-IMPV stay-DET-IMPV

..

‘Since Ram was eating rice...’

244) *Ramna dʒa nena t̚õu na..*

Ram-na dʒa ne-na t̚õ-u-na..

Ram-ERG rice eat-IMPV stay-DET-IMPV

..

‘Because Ram was eating rice...’

245) *Ramna dʒa nena t̚õu k̚ã k̚iu sini..*

Ram-na dʒa ne-na t̚õ-u k̚ã k̚iu sini..

Ram-ERG rice eat-IMPV stay-DET thing COP if

†

‘Though it is true that Ram was eating ...’

246) *Ramna dʒa nena t̚õusini..*

Ram-na dʒa ne-na t̚õ-u sini..

Ram-ERG rice eat-IMPV stay-DET CND

....

‘Since Ram is eating rice...’

247) *Ramna dʒa neuna tʰõusini..*

Ram-na dʒa ne-u-na tʰõ-u sini..

Ram-ERG rice eat-A-IMPV stay-DET CND

.....

'Since Ram has eaten rice ... '

248) *Ramna dʒa neguna tʰõusini..*

Ram-na dʒa ne-gu-na tʰõ-u sini..

Ram-ERG rice eat-DET-IMPV stay-DET CND

.....

'Because of Ram's eating rice... '

249) *Ramna dʒa niu kʰ na tʰõusini..*

Ram-na dʒa ni-u kʰ na tʰõ-u sini..

Ram-ERG rice eat-DET EMP EMP stay-DET IF

.....

'The fact that Ram ate rice... '

250) *Ramna dʒa nj ri hjo kʰã..*

Ram-na dʒa ni- -ri he-o kʰã..

Ram-ERG rice eat-A-RPST say-NML thing

¶

.....

'The saying that Ram did not eat rice ... '

251) *Ramna ḍ̣a mine hjo ḳ̣ḥ̣ã..*

Ram-na ḍ̣a mi-ne he-o ḳ̣ḥ̣ã..

Ram-ERG rice NEG-eat say-NML thing

.....

'While Ram was eating ... '

252) *Ramna ḍ̣a mine.*

Ram-na ḍ̣a mi-ne.

Ram-ERG rice NEG-eat

.....

'While Ram was eating ... '

253) *ḍ̣a, hã Ramna nj ri ...*

ḍ̣a, hã Ram-na ni- -ri ...

rice, REM Ram-ERG eat-A- RPST

,

'The rice that Ram ate... '

254) *hãb^h g hila Ramna ḍ̣a niuri...*

hã-b^h g hila Ram-na ḍ̣a ni- -ri...

REM time when Ram-ERG rice eat-A- RPST

.....

'At that time when Ram ate rice ... '

255) *hãt^ha g^h t^ha Ram t^sõu*

hã-t^ha g^h t^ha Ram t^sõ-u.

REM-ALL where Ram stay-3PST

है है

'The place where Ram stays ... '

256) *hã munt^{sh}eætã Ramna da*

h munt^{sh}e h -jata Ram-na da

REM person REM-DAT Ram-ERG hit-3PST

है है है

'The man whom Ram bit . '

257) *h d^ze, Ramna ja:u / sõu...*

h d^ze, Ram-na ja:-u / sõ-u

REM work Ram-ERG do-DET/ act-DET

है ...

'The Work that Ram does..'

258) *Ramna neu d^za...*

Ram-na ne-u d^za...

Ram-ERG eat-NML rice

..

'The rice that is eaten by Ram ... '

259) *Ramna d^za neu b^h ...*

Ram-na d^za ne-u b^h ...

Ram-ERG rice eat-NML time

...

'At the moment while Ram was eating...'

260) *Ram t^sõi t^hæ..*

Ram t^sõ-i [gu>u (devocalized)>i (vowel raising)] t^hæ..

Ram stay-NML place

ॢ ..

'The place where Ram stays.'

261) *Ramna da: munt^{sh}e...*

Ram-na da:- munt^{sh}e...

Ram-ERG hit-NML person

१ ॢ ...

'The man beaten by Ram...'

262) *Ramna sõi d^ze...*

Ram-na sõi-i [(gu>u>i)] d^ze...

Ram-ERG move-NML work

.....

'The work to be done by Ram...'

263) *Ramti bāla munt^{sh}e...*

Ram-ti bāla munt^{sh}e...

Ram-as nice person

राम म न ...

'The man as nice as Ram..'

264) *Ramt^heu munt^{sh}e*

Ram-t^heu munche

Ram-LIKE person

राम न ...

'The man like Ram.'

265) *Ramja sina bāla munt^{sh}e...*

Ram-ja sina bāla munt^{sh}e...

Ram-GEN than nice person

राम म न ..

'The man better than Ram.'

266) *Ramti d^haba munt^{sh}e..*

Ram-ti d^haba munt^{sh}e..

Ram-as great person

राम न ...

'The man as great as Ram.'

267) *Ramtiu munt^{sh}e*

Ram-ti-(g)u munt^{sh}e

Ram-as-NML person

राम ते ...

'The man as big as Ram...'

268) *Ramnat^h d^ze sōu munt^{sh}e*

Ram-na t^h d^ze sō-u munt^{sh}e

Ram-ERG as work move-NML person

राम ते ...

'The man who works like Ram.'

269) *Ramja sina bāla munt^{sh}e...*

Ram-ja sina bāla munt^{sh}e...

Ram-GEN than nice person

राम ते ते ...

'The man who works faster than Ram...'

270) *Ramna d^za ni sini...*

Ram-na d^za ni- sini...

Ram-ERG rice eat-NPST if

राम ते ...

'If Ram eats rice..'

271) *Ramna dʒa nisini...*

Ram-na dʒa ni- sini...

Ram-ERG rice eat-NPST if

...

'If Ram eats rice..'

272) *Ramna dʒa ni- su kh ...*

Ram-na dʒa ni- su kh ...

Ram-ERG rice eat-NPST EMP EMP

f ...

'Though Ram has eaten rice...'

273) *Ramna dʒa ni : t r na ni mak^hi:.*

Ram-na dʒa ni- : t r na ni- ma-k^hi:

Ram-ERG rice eat-3NPST but 1SG eat-3NPST NEG-COP

☞ ☞

'Ram eats rice but I do not.'

274) *Ramna dʒa ni ale w :.*

Ram-na dʒa ni- ale w -:

Ram-ERG rice eat-3NPST then go-3NPST

☞ ☞

'Ram eats rice and goes.'

275) *Ramna d̤a ni mk^hi, m t^he ni :*

Ram-na d̤a ni- -ma-k^hi:, m t^he ni- :

Ram-ERG rice eat-NPST-NEG-COP, bread eat-NPST

᳚ ᳚ ᳚

'Ram does not eat rice but bread.'

276) *Ramna m t^he ni : d̤a ni mk^hi.*

Ram-na m t^he ni- : d̤a ni- -ma-k^hi.

Ram-ERG bread eat-NPST, rice eat-NPST-NEG-COP

᳚ ᳚ , ᳚

'Ram eats bread but not rice.'

277) *Ramna d̤a ni : na k^h ni.*

Ram-na d̤a ni- : na k^h ni.

Ram-ERG rice eat-NPST 1SG EMP 1SG.NPST

᳚ , ᳚ ᳚

'Ram eats rice and so do I.'

278) *Ram w sjamna d̤a ni :*

Ram w sjam-na d̤a ni- :

Ram and syam-ERG rice eat-NPST

᳚ ᳚

'Ram and Shyam eat rice.'

279) *Ramna d̤a d se ni , m d se ni mak^hi:*

Ram-na d̤a d -se ni- , m -d -se ni- ma-khi:

Ram-ERG rice be-if eat-NPST, NEG-be-if eat-NPST NEG-COP

राम , म द से नि

'If Ram gets rice he eats otherwise not.'

280) *Ramna d̤a ni , ale...*

Ram-na d̤a ni- , ale...

Ram-ERG rice eat-NPST but..

राम , ...

'Ram eats rice but....'

281) *Ramna m n d̤ana d̤a ni .*

Ram-na m n d̤a-na (u) d̤a ni- .

Ram-ERG brother-with rice eat-NPST

राम ब्रदर-विथ राइस

'Ram eats rice along with his brother.'

282) *Ramna durud̤ana d̤a nj .*

Ram-na duru-d̤a-na(u) d̤a ni- .

Ram-ERG milk-rice-with rice eat-NPST

राम दुरु-द-ना राइस

'Ram eats rice with milk.'

283) *Ramna m t^hēja pilina d^za nj .*

Ram-na m t^he-ja pilina d^za ni- .

Ram-ERG bread-POS instead rice eat-NPST

राम त^हे जे पिलेना द^जा नि-

'Ram eats rice instead of breads.'

284) *Ram l^hōita d^za ni .*

Ram l^hō-i-ta d^za ni-

Ram raise-INF-PURP rice eat-NPST

राम लि^हओइते द^जा नि-

'Ram eats rice to become fat.'

285) *Ramna d^za nemak^hi:.*

Ram-na d^za ne-ma-khi:

Ram-ERG rice eat-NEG-COP

राम द^जा ने-मा-क^{हि}:

'Rice will not be eaten by Ram.'

286) *Ramna d^za ne d^ze jamak^hi:.*

Ram-na d^za ne d^ze ja-ma-k^hi

Ram-ERG rice eat work do-NEG-COP

'Rice is being eaten by Ram.'

287) *Ramna t^s mt^sana ni*

Ram-na t^s mt^sa-na ni-

Ram-ERG spoon-INS eat-NPST

ᖃ

ᖃ

'Ram eats rice with a spoon.'

288) *Ramna b^h : d^za ni .*

Ram-na b^h -: d^za ni-

Ram-ERG plate-LOC rice eat-NPST

ᖃ

'Ram eats rice in a plate.'

289) *Ramjat^ha ja ne t^s mt^sa m r .*

Ram-ja-t^ha d^za ne t^s mt^sa m -r .

Ram-POS-ALL rice eat spoon NEG-be

ᖃ

'Ram has no spoon to eat rice.'

290) *Ramjat^ha d^za ne b^hu m r*

Ram-ja-t^ha d^za ne b^hu m -r

Ram-POS-ALL rice eat plate NEG-be

'Ram has no plate to eat rice.'

291) *Ramjat^h a dʒa ne bela m r*

Ram-ja-t^ha dʒa ne bela m -r

Ram-POS-ALL rice eat time NEG-be

'Ram has no time to eat rice.'

292) *Ramjat dʒa ni:ta pasa ma: dʒ u*

. Ram-jat dʒa ni:-t pasa ma dʒ -u

Ram-DAT rice eat-INF-PURP friend need-be-3PST

f

'Ram needed a friend to eat rice.'

293) *Ram dʒa ni:t w u.*

Ram dʒa ni:-t w -u

Ram rice eat-INF-PURP go-3PST

'Ram went to eat rice.'

294) *Ram dʒa ni:t hena w u*

Ram dʒa ni:-t he-na w -u.

Ram rice eat-INF-PURP say-IMPV go-3PST

'Ram went to eat rice.'

295) *Ram dʒa ni:t w u.*

Ram dʒa ni:-t w -u

Ram rice eat-INF-PURP go-3PST

निमित्त

'Ram went for the sake of eating rice.'

296) *Ram dʒa ni:t w u.*

Ram dʒa ni:-t w -u

Ram rice eat-INF-PURP go-3PST

॥

'Ram went for the sake of eating rice.'

297) *Ram dʒa ni:t w u.*

Ram dʒa ni:-t w -u

Ram rice eat-INF-PURP go-3PST

उद्देश्य ॥

'Ram went with the aim of eating rice.'

298) *h kana Ramjat dʒa nigari.*

h -ka-na Ram-jat dʒa ni-ga-ri

3SG-PL-ERG Ram-DAT rice eat-K-3RPST

॥ रु ख

'They fed rice to Ram.'

299) *h kana Ramjat dʒa nigari.*

h -ka-na Ram-jat dʒa ni-ga-ri
3SG-PL-ERG Ram-DAT rice eat-K-3RPST

१ रु

'They compelled Ram to eat rice.'

300) *h kana Ramjat dʒa nenegari.*

h -ka-na Ram-jat dʒa ne-na-ga-ri.
3SG-PL-ERG Ram-DAT rice eat-IMPV-K-3RPST

१ रु

'They made Ram eat rice.'

301) *na h kata dʒa nita lja hjoni*

na h -ka-ta dʒa ni-ta lja-hjo-ni
1SG 3SG-PL-DAT rice eat-PURP K-say-1SG.PST

तिनीहरुलाई

'I compelled them to make someone to eat rice.'

302) *h kana Ramjat dʒa ni:ta tʰol u.*

h -ka-na Ram-jat dʒa ni:-ta tʰol -u
3SG-PL-ERG Ram-DAT rice eat-INF-PURP send-3PST

१ रु

'They sent Ram to eat rice.'

303) *h kana Ramjat d^za ne ma heu.*

h	-ka-na	Ram-jat	d ^z a	ne-ma	he-u.
3SG-PL-ERG		Ram-DAT	rice	eat-NML	do-3PST

तिनीहरूले

'They said that Ram must eat rice.'

304) *h kana Ramjat d^za ni: as kj ri.*

h	-ka-na	Ram-jat	d ^z a	ni-:	as	kj -ri
3SG-PL-ERG		Ram-DAT	rice	eat-INF hope		show-3RPST

ति रु

'They assured Ram to eat rice.'

305) *hākana Ramjat d^za nigano topr-tari.*

h	-ka-na	Ram-yat	d ^z a	ni-ga-no	topr-tari.
3SG-PL-ERG		Ram-DAT	rice	eat-K-NML	ready(?)=ready

ति रु त्र

'They made Ram agreed to eat rice.'

306) *hākana Ramyjat ja minekasu hiru parehari.*

h	-ka-na	Ram-jat	d ^z a	mi-ne-ka-su	hiru	par-e-he-ri.
3SG-PL-ERG		Ram-DAT	rice	NEG-eat-K-if	as	make-INF-do 3RPST

ति रु ति

'They made Ram that he need not eat rice.'

307) *hākana Ramjat d̥a ni: t kor hj :ri.*

h -ka-na Ram-jat d̥a ni:-t kor he- :-ri.

3SG-PL-ERG Ram-DAT rice eat-INF-PURP press do-A-3RPST

१ रु

'They requested Ram to eat rice.'

308) *hākana Ramna d̥a niu hena le:tau.*

h -ka-na Ram-na d̥a ni:-u he-na le:-ta-u.

3SG-PL-ERG Ram-DAT rice eat-INF-NML do-IPFV please-feel-3PST

तिनीहरुले

'They were happy that Ram had eaten rice.'

309) *hākana Ramna d̥a ni: t n^hanu.*

h -ka-na Ram-na d̥a ni:-t n^han-u

3SG-PL-ERG Ram-DAT rice eat-INF-PUR call-3PST

१ रु

'They called Ram to eat rice.'

310) *Ramna gwara d̥a niu horiu l^hāu.*

Ram-na gwara d̥a ni-u hori-u l^hā-u.

Ram-ERG how much rice eat-NML ADJ-NML raise-3PST

१ , १

'Ram gets fatter as much as he eats.'

311) *Ramna nati d̥a nj mak^hi.*

Ram-na na-ti d̥a ni- ma-k^hi:.

Ram-ERG 1SG-as rice eat-A NEG-COP

१ २

'Ram does not eat as much as I do.'

312) *Ramna d̥a neujd̥ana nuda ast^s rj l id̥u.*

Ram-na d̥a ne-u-ja-na nu-da ast^s rj l i-d̥u.

Ram-ERG rice eat-DET-POS-IMPV 1SG-DAT surprise feel-be

आश्चय ३

'I am surprised that Ram ate rice.'

313) *nuda u k^h na ast^s rj l id̥u ki Ramna d̥a neu hena.*

nu-da u k^h -na ast^s rj l i-d̥u ki Ram-na d̥a ne-u he-
na

1SG-DAT this thing-INS surprise feel-be that Ram-ERG rice eat-NML do-
PTP

आश्चय ३ १

'I surprised on the matter that Ram eat rice.'

314) *na Ramna d̥a niu hena i i.*

na Ram-na d̥a ni-u he-na i- i

1SG Ram-ERG rice eat-NML do-PTP ask-1SG.RPST

१

'I asked whether Ram ate rice.'

315) *u k^hã bãla (k^hiu) ki Ramna d^za nj ri.*

u k^hã bãla (k^hiu) ki Ram-na d^za ni- -ri.

this thing nice (COP) that ram-ERG rice eat-A-3RPST

मं ि

'It's nice that Ram ate rice.'

316) *Ramna d^za ne t^hak^hrõu t^sa.*

Ram-na d^za ne t^hak^hrõu t^sa

Ram-ERG rice eat difficult feel

हं ि

'Ram felt odd to eat rice.'

317) *Ramna t^sa ne bit^sar hj ri.*

Ram-na d^za ne bit^sar he- -ri.

Ram-ERG rice eat think do-A-3RPST

ि ि

'Ram thought to eating rice.'

318) *Ramna t^sula bit^sar hj ale hãna d^za nj .*

Ram-na t^sula bit^sar he- : ale h -na d^za ni-

Ram-ERG what think do-3RPST then REM-ERG rice eat-3SG.NPST

ि ि

'Ram thought that he would eat rice.'

319) *Ramjat b^hant^{sh}a t jar du.*

Ram-jat b^hant^{sh}a t jar du

Ram-DAT kitchen ready COP

☐

'Meal is ready for Ram.'

320) *d^za ni:t liba nu.*

d^za ni:-t liba nu

Rice eat-INF-PURP late -3PST

†

'It is late to eat rice.'

321) *d^za ne bela d^z u*

d^za ne bela d^zu-u

Rice eat time be-3PST

'It is time to eat rice.'

322) *dile ne bela d^z u*

dile ne bela d^zu-u

tiffin eat time be-3PST

'It is time for breakfast.'

323) *d tjam / bela mad^zuno.*

d tjam / bela ma-d^zu no.

Sleep time / time NEG-be EMP

ᑦᑦ

'It is not time to sleep.'

324) *b^hant^{sh}a t jar d^zu: nitlja .*

bhant^{sh}a t jar d^zu:- ni-:-tlya

kitchen ready be-3PST eat-INF ready

ᑦᑦ

,

'Meal is ready, let you come to eat.'

325) *t^{sh}i las d^za ni las*

t^{sh}i las d^za ni- las

2S come rice eat-INF come

ᑦᑦ

'You go and eat rice.'

326) *u b^hant^{sh}a mak^hi, di tæ k^hiu.*

u b^hant^{sh}a mak^hi, di tæ k^hiu

This kitchen NEG-COP, sleep place COP

ᑦᑦ

,

ᑦᑦ

'It is not kitchen, its bed room.'

327) *e, ue luk^hut k^huilo*

e, u e luk^hu-t k^hui-lo
O, this EMP water-PL COP-EVT

'Oh! Its' water.'

328) *u luk^hu mak^hi, duru k^hiu.*

u luk^hu ma-k^hi, duru k^hiu
This water NEG-COP, milk COP
,

'It is not water but milk.'

329) *Ramna d^ɛe sōu, t r mud^hu*

Ram-na d^ɛe sō-u, t r mu-d^hu a
Ram-ERG work move-3PST. but NEG-finish
f f ɛ

'Ram did the task but did not finish.'

330) *kosis heo heo k^h Ram pas d^ɛump^h*

kosis he-o he-o k^h Ram pas d^ɛu-m -p^h
Try do-IPFV do-IPFV EMP Ram pass be-NEG-able
, f

'Ram could not success in spite of his hard labour. '

331) *Ram d^{zh} u t^h mljana*

Ram d^{zh} u t^h -mu-lja na

Ram still arrive- NEG-come EMP

'Ram has not come yet, it is yet.'

332) *hākana ekko t^sid^z nj u, d^z sti dal, d^za, m t^he*

h -ka-na ekko t^sid^z ni- -u, d^z sti dal, d^za, m t^he

3SG-PL-ERG many thing eat-a-NML like pulse, rice, bread

१ रु , ₹ , , १

'They ate a lot of things like pulse, rice, breads.'

333) *d^ze sōm^ha h k^hiu, d^zesōkari*

d^ze sō-m^ha h k^hiu, d^zesōkari

work act-NML 3SG COP, workers

;

'Those who cultivate are cultivators. '

334) *wa ijuna t^sek^hrōu*

wa i-u-na t^sek^hrōu

Rain come-NML-IMPV cold.

'It is cold because of rain. '

335) *t r^ha su h d^ze sōu du.*

t r^ha su h d^ze sō-u du

Tired if 3SG work move-3PST COP

ᱦ ᱚ ᱦ

'Though he was tired he was working.'

336) *h n^helna tu nena t^sōu du.*

h n^hel-na tu nena t^sō-u du.

3S laugh-IMPV EMP eat-IMPV stay-NML COP

ᱦ ᱚ

'He is eating rice with laughing. '

337) *t^{sh}i makl^hisini u t^{sh} ja d^h ni sula le?*

t^{sh}i ma-k^hal^ha-sini u t^{sh} -ja d^h ni sula le?

2S NEG-be-if this house-POS rich who EMP

ᱦ ?

'Who is the owner of this house if you are not?'

338) *t^{sh}ã mak^husini sulana k^hu: le?*

t^{sh}ã ma-k^hu-sini sula-na k^hu: le

2S NEG-COP-CND who-ERG steal EMP

ᱦ ?

'Who has stolen if you have not?'

339) *Ram g^h t^ha wõu, nuda t^ha mura.*

Ram g^h t^ha wõ-u, nu -da t^ha mu-ra
 Ram where go-3PST, 1SG-DAT know NEG-be

,

'I do not know where Ram has gone.'

340) *na bit^sar-ko h k^h mak^hi.*

na bit^sar-ko h k^h ma-k^hi:
 1SG idea-LOC 3SG thief NEG-COP

f f̄

'In my opinion he is not a thief.'

341) *na sot^{sh}-eja k^hiu ki h ut^ha mura.*

na sot^{sh}-eja k^hiu ki h ut^ha mu-ra
 1SG think-SH COP that 3SG there NEG-COP

f f̄ f̄

'I had thought that he was not here.'

342) *ut^ha ljas-i le.*

ut^ha ljas-i le.
 Here come-IMP EMP

'Please come here.'

343) *u sun^{ev} to he mire.*

u suna-e-to he mire

This whoever-A-DAT say PRB

☞ ☞

'Please, do not tell it anyone.'

344) *bul hja las h i.*

Bul -hja las h i

slow-ADV come EMP

☞ ☞

'Please, go slowly.'

345) *t^siri la:/ w :*

t^siri la: / w :

we (EXC) come / go

(☞ +) ☞ ☞

'We (you+I) will go tomorrow.'

346) *d^zari la:/ w :*

d^zari la: / w :

we(INC) come / go

(+) ☞ ☞

'We (he+I) will go tomorrow.'

347) *t^siri p^hukko la:*

t^siri p^hukko la:

we(EXC) come / go

(**f** **ꠘ**+) **ꠘ** **f**

'We (you+I) will go tomorrow.'

348) *d^zari phukko la:*

d^zari p^hukko la:

we all go.

(**f** **ꠘ**+) **ꠘ** **f**

'We (they+I) will go.'

349) *s ras r koso w .*

s ras r koso w

ONM down go

'go straight.'

350) *tipjæ t^hoso las*

tipj-æ t^hoso las

straight-ADV upward come

f

'Come upward directly.'

351) *b^hera w*

b^hera w

horizontal go

f

'Go horizontally.'

APPENDIX II

PAHARI RITES

puja agigu/पुजा अगिगु | The ceremony of loin cloth offering

- 1) *d hi, oɖʰa, lati, kʰamuko tana dalina bul ina, paɖʰunini, ninipaɖʰu lajagu.*

d hi, oɖʰa, lati, kʰamu-ko ta-na dali-na

curd, fish, leaf, pan-LOC put-IMPV cover-IMPV

bul -i-na, paɖʰu, nini laja-gu

bring-INF-IMPV, uncle, aunt go-NPST

ᱫᱷᱟᱱ, ,

ᱦᱚᱱᱚ

'The maternal uncle, aunt come with yoghurt, fish, leaf covered in a khamu (pan).'

- 2) *kintʰi punikunu tʰinuʰ : mesa sina .*

kintʰi puni-kunu tʰi-nuʰ : mesa sin-a

tomorrow fullmoon-day one-CF ago buffallow kill-NPST

ᱫᱷᱟᱱ ᱦᱚᱱᱚ ᱫᱷᱟᱱ ᱫᱷᱟᱱ ᱫᱷᱟᱱ ᱫᱷᱟᱱ

A day before fullmoon a buffalo is killed.

- 3) *bō tʰilina s pʰa hegu.*

bō tʰili-na s pʰa he-gu

floor smear-IMPV s pha do-INF

ᱫᱷᱟᱱ

The house will be cleaned by smearing up the floor.

- 4) *b^hont^ho pad^ɛuku bant^sajata tora, s :t, pant, leg , gamsa buljae.*

b^hont^ho pad^ɛu-ku bant^sa-jata tora, s :t, pant, leg , gamsa bulja-e

evening uncle-load nephew-DAT cap, shirt, pant, shoe, muffler carry-3NPST

, , ɛ , ɛ ɛ f ɛ

'At the evening uncle brings a luggage of cap, shirt, pant, shoes and muffler.'

- 5) *t^hõ, l sa, bud^ɛi, g^hasa, pit^sa, k^hemd^ɛa, od^ɛa, pud^ɛab^h , k^ha, k^ho hajagu.*

t^hõ, l sa, bud^ɛi, g^hasa, pit^sa, k^hemd^ɛa, od^ɛa,

beer, curry, beaten-rice, meat, pancake, egg, fish,

pud^ɛab^h , k^ha k^ho haja-gu

plates chicken also bring-3NPST

, t, f , , ɔ , , t, f ɛ

'They bring beer, curry, beaten-rice, meat, pancake, egg, fish, plates and chicken.'

- 6) *pad^ɛuku pad^ɛuna niniku ninina bulijau .*

pad^ɛu-ku pad^ɛu-na nini-ku ninina bulija-u

uncle-load uncle-AGT aunt-load, aunt-AGT carry-3NPST

f ɛ

'The uncle and aunt bring their own luggage.'

- 7) *t^hut^{sh} na pad^ɛu, d^haba, t^seba, bad^ɛe, t^humunt^{sh}ijata b^herana t^huna djoko w i.*

thuch -na pad^ɛu, dhaba, t^seba, bad^ɛe, thumunchi-yata

parents' home-ABL uncle, elder uncle, uncle grand-pa, relative-DAT

b^hera-na t^hu-na djo-ku w -i.

turban-INS put-IPFV god-LOC go-3NPST.

ᵀ , , , ᵀ =

'From the maternal side all the male members of the family will be revered cladding them with turban and goes to temple.'

- 8) *nini, b d^ze, d^hama, t^semajata ljā bi:ma:.*

nini, b d^ze, d^hama, t^sema-jata ljā bi:- ma:

Aunt grand-ma elder-aunt aunt-DAT blouse give-INF need

, ᵀ , ᵀ , ᵀ ᵀ :

'Aunt, grand-ma elder / junior aunt should be offered a piece of blouse.'

- 9) *Ale deuko òigu.*

ale deuko ò -i-gu.

then god-LOC go-INF-NPST

ᵀ =

'All the members will go to deity.'

- 10) *Dipud^za hena ninina sinina tiga bi.*

dipud^za he-na nini-na sinina ti-g-a bi

Clan offering do-IMPV aunt-AGT dart-INS put-K-IMPV give

ᵀ ᵀ =

'The aunt puts tika after clan offering.'

- 11) *pad^zuna d^heba bina pisena ^higagu.*

pad^zu-na d^heba bi-na pise-na hi-ga-gu
uncle-ERG money give-PTP loin cloth-INS wrap-K-NPST

१ १ १ २

'The uncle offers loin cloth with money.'

- 12) *b^hoe nena t^{sh} lagu.*

b^hoe ne-na t^{sh} la-gu
feast eat-IMPV house return-NPST

१ २ १ २

'After the feast they returned to home. '

- 13) *t^{sh} lana dusumi negu.*

t^{sh} - la-na dusumi ne-gu.
house-LOC return-IMPV prasad (gift?) eat-NML

३ (२)

'After returning home they take prasad.'

- 14) *Kint^{sh}i sunt^ho pad^zu nini b nt^sa deuko uina b^h e negu.*

Kint^{sh}i sunt^ho pad^zu nini b nt^sa deu-ko ui-na b^hoe ne-gu.

Tomorrow morning uncle, aunt, nephew god-LOC go-IMPV feast eat-NPST.

१ २ २ १ २

Next morning the nephew is carried to temple and offered the feast.

- 15) *pad^zu ninijata d^za, dile negigu.*

pad^zu nini-jata d^za, dile ne-g-i-gu.

uncle aunt-DAT meal, lunch eat-K-INF-NPST

८

'The uncle and aunt should be offered meal and lunch.'

- 16) *b^hont^ho t^sanko p^hupaligub^h dugaja k^halpu paligu.*

b^hont^ho t^sani-ko p^hupaligu-b^h duga-ja k^halpu pal-i-gu

evening night-LOC slaughter-time goat-GEN thigh cut-INF-NPST

१ ८

'At the evening the goat will be sacrificed.'

- 17) *p^hupalib^h pad^zuna ninijasina dob l d^heba tima:*

p^hupali-b^h pad^zu-na nini-ja-sina dob l d^heba ti-ma:

sacrifice-time uncle-ERG aunt-POS-than double money put-need

प्र ८ दक्षिणा १ ;

'The uncle has to offer double of money than the aunt over the slaughter.'

- 18) *b^hoe nina bela kau.*

b^hoe ni-na bela ka-u

feast eat-IMPV farewell take-NPST

१ १ १ ८

'Every one will bid farewell after the feast.'

- 19) *nini, pad^zuna t^sut^sula haigu p^huko b^hartal hena bela biiu.*

nini, pad^zu-na t^sut^sula ha-i-gu p^huko b^hartal he-na
 aunt uncle-ERG whatever bring-INF-NML all replace do-IMPFV
 bela bi -i -u.
 farewell give-INF-NPST

ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ

'The uncle and aunt is bid farewell replacing the things they brought.'

- 20) *duko bit^{sh}ilagu.*

duko bi-t^{sh}ula-gu
 all give send-NPST

ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ

'All the things should be returned.'

- 21) *sorukunu b nt^sajat pad^zuna kajagu.*

sorukunu b nt^sa-jat pad^zuna kaja-gu
 next day nephew-DAT uncle-ERG take-NPST

ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ

'Next morning the nephew will be invited by the uncle.'

- 22) *Kajana t^{sh} bulagu.*

kaja-na t^{sh} bula-gu
 take-IMPFV house carry-NPST

त १ न १ न

'Then the nephew returns to house.'

Sirinak^ho /सिरिनखो|The festival of kumar shasthi

- 1) *Sirin k^hob^h t^hinu^h : s fa hena bō t^hili:u*

Sirin k^ho-b^h t^hi-nu^h : s fa he-na bō t^hili:-u

Sirin kho-time one-CF ago cleans do-IMPV floor smear-INF-NML

१ १ १ १ १ न

'On the eve of Sirinakho the floor should be smeared up.'

- 2) *Siri n k^hokunu sunt^ho^h t^hænu du na mori l^hu:*

Sirin k^ho-kunu sunt^ho^h t^hæ-nu du- -na mori lhu:-

Sirin k^ho-day morning early-time wakeup-INF-IMPV head wash-3NPST

१ १ १ न

'On the day of Sirinakho early in the morning takes bath.'

- 3) *ale l sa degita t^hik heu.*

ale l sa de-g-i-ta t^hik he-u

then curry make-K-INF-PURP ready do-NPST

त १ १ १ १ न

'They will be ready for the dish prepatation.'

- 4) *t^sana, kurou, b^huri, solsi wæra:l sa muigu.*

t^sana, kurou, b^huri, solsi wæra: l sa mu-i-gu.
 gram, pea, bean, kidneybean, green vegetable, steam-INF-NPST.
 , , , f , f f =

'The gram, pea, bean, kidneybean, green vegetables should be steamed.'

- 5) *Ale palo, t^sar, m ri si:u.*

ale palo t^sar, m ri si:-u
 then ginger, pickle, soya fry-INF-NPST
 = f , , =

Then spicy pickle prepared and soya fried.

- 6) *l sat t^sja k^hosni hilena waleu.*

l sa-t t^sja k^hosni hile-na wal-e-u
 dish-PL salt chilly turmeric-ERG blend-INF-NPST
 f =

'The dishes should be blended.'

- 7) *Malpa, puri, pit^sa, t^{sh}ugigu*

malpa, puri, pit^sa, t^{sh}u-g-i-gu
 malpa, puri, pancake, fry-K-INF-NPST
 , t, =

'The dough bread, puri, pancake are prepared.'

- 8) *pud^ɕhe tjam d^ɕunale mori l^huna pud^ɕab^h k ruwa sileu.*

pud ^{zh} e	tjam	d ^z u-na-le	mori l ^h u-na	pud ^z a-b ^h
worship	time	be-IMPV-PPOS	bath wet-IMPV	plate-EMP
k ruwa	sil-e-u			
jug	rinse-INF-NPST			

१ , रु पखालिन्छ।

'At the time of worship one should take bath and wash the plate and jug.'

9) *sono k^hana pud^zab^h degiu.*

sono	k ^h a-na	pud ^z ab ^h	de-g-i-u.
flower	pluck-IMPV	dish	make-K-INF-NML

१ १

'The worshipping dish is ornated with the flowers.'

10) *sono, d^zai, sira sini, m^huskurō sini, tocho, til, f lful d^hupu,ira: digana d^heba, k^h d^za tana pud^zab^h degiu.*

sono,	d ^z ai,	sira,	m ^h uskurō sini,	tot ^{sh} o,	til,	f lful dhupu,	ira:
flower,	rice,	red,	yellow vermillion,	barley,	sesame,	fruits,	incense, wick
di-ga-na	d ^h eba,		k ^h d ^z a ta-na	pud ^z ab ^h	de-g-i-u.		
make-K-IMPV	coin,	egg	put-IMPV	dish	make-K-INF-NML.		

, , , १ , , , , १ , , १ १

11) *Pud^zaheu k^hile dareko bōt^hilina ni:luk^hu hæu /t^{sh}æu.*

'At the mid of ground is smeared and sprinkled the pure water.'

12) *lati ljægu.*

६

The leaves are spread.

13) $d^zoko\ d^heba, k^h\ d^za, tana\ sinina\ tigu.$

The idol is offered coin, egg and vermillion.

14) $d^{\mathbb{Z}}ai$, sono $t^{sh} \ae u$.

jai, sono t^{sh} a-e-u

jai, sono offer-INF-NPST

,

'Rice and flower should be offered.'

- 15) *d^hupu, ira: d^zuguna t^{sh}æu.*

dhupu, ira: d^zugu-na t^{sh}a-e-u.

Insence, wick lit-IMPV offer-INF-NPST

ᑭᑭᑭ

'Insence and cotton wick should be lit and offered.'

- 16) *k^ha muhagiu.*

k^ha muha-g-i-u.

rooster sense-K-INF-NPST

'The rooster is sensitized for sacrifice.'

- 17) *dj :ko k^ha seu.*

dj :ko k^ha se-u.

God-LOC rooster kill-NPST

ᑭᑭ ᑭᑭ

'The rooster is sacrificed on the idol.'

- 18) *t^hõ, l sa, luk^hu tana t^{sh}abiu digana k^hjæ t^{sh}eko tabiu.*

t^hõ, l sa, luk^hu ta-na t^{sh}a-bi-u di-ga-na k^ha-ja

beer, curry, water put-IPFV offer-give-NML make-K-IPFV rooster-GEN

t^{sh}e-ko ta-bi-u.

head-LOC put-give-NPST.

, १ , ५

'An offer of the dishes (beer, curry, water) is put over the rooster head.'

- 19) *ale ira: t^{sh}ana dj b^hakeheu.*

. ale ira: t^{sh}a-na dj b^hake-he-u

then wick offer-IMPV idol bless-do-NPST

८ १ ८ ३

'Then beg for blessing offering a light.'

- 20) *twat^{sh}ena k^h ḍa kjaeu.*

twat^{sh}e-na k^h ḍa kja-e-u

break-IMPV egg take-INF-IMPV

७

The egg is offered after breaking.

- 21) *k^hjæ ga:t^sa kana sumi b^hoe ti:ta lati ljæu.*

k^ha-ja ga:-t^sa ka-na sumi b^hoe ti:-ta lati lja-e-gu

rooster-POS neckt-CF take-IMPV snacks feast put-PURleaf spread-INF-NPST

१ ५ ७

The snacks is offered in a leaf with the dish of girdle of the rooster

- 22) *latiko bud^zi, palo, l sa, k^h d^za, g :t^sa, malpa, puri, pit^sa, t^hõ ti:u.*

lati-ko bud^zi, palo, l sa, k^h d^za, g :t^sa, malpa, puri, pit^sa, t^hõ ti:u

leaf-LOC beaten rice, ginger, curry, egg, girdle, malpa, puri, beer, put-NPST

ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ, ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ, ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ, ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ, ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ, ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ, ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ, ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ

'Beaten rice, ginger, curry, egg, girdle, dough bread, puri, beer are served in a leaf.'

- 23) *^h : dj :jata biu .*

^h : dj :-jata bi-u .

ago god-DAT give-NPST

ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ

'The first one is served to the God.'

- 24) *ni:teb^h t^hujasin d^habakata b^hak^hi heu.*

ni:-te-b^h t^hu-ja-sin d^habaka-ta b^hak^hi he-u

eat-ready-time self-GEN-than elder-DAT bow do-NPST

ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ

'The elders should pay respect bowing them before feast.'

- 25) *ale sumi b^hoe ni:u.*

ale sumi b^hoe ni:-u

then snacks feast eat-NML

ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ ᱵᱟᱨᱜᱟᱴᱚ

'Then the snacks should be offered.'

26) *ni: d^hunale k^hja pak^hi puii.*

ni: d^hu a-na-le k^ha-ja pak^hi pu-i-u.

eat finish-IMPV-PPOS rooster-POS feather pluck-INF-NPST

ले

'After the feast the rooster should be dressed up.'

27) *k^ha p^hana iri, silma, kana sap^ha heu.*

k^ha p^ha-na iri, silma, ka-na sap^ha he-u

rooster split-IMPV intestine, liver, take-IMPV clean do-NPST

फि न्द्र, फि

'The rooster's intestine, kidney, liver should be drawn and clean.'

28) *Sap^ha hena k^ha paleu.*

sap^ha he-na k^ha pol-e-u.

clean do-IMPV kha peel-INF-NPST

ट

'The rooster should be dressed.'

29) *Sum sla t^{sh}uina g^hasa k^huigu.*

su-m s la t^{sh}u-i-na g^hasa k^hu-i-gu

oil-spices put-INF-IMPV meat cook-INF-NPST

'The meat should be cooked with proper oil and spice.'

30) *ale b^hoe ti:u.*

ale b^hoe ti:-u

then feast put-NPST

त त फ ख

'Then display the feast.'

31) *p^h t^sakata kor tana b^hoe bi:u.*

p^h t^sa-kata kor ta-na b^hoe bi:-u

sanguinal-DAT auspicious gift put-IMPV feast give-NPST

फुकाहरुलाई ()

'All the sanguinal kinship should offer the special feast with auspicious gift.'

32) *p^hukkojato b^hoe ni:u.*

p^hukko-jato b^hoe ni:-u

all-DAT feast eat-NML.

'All should be offered feast.'

33) *^hitinalat^shi bu : sa: t^hirusu:k^ho sa t^he ma.*

^hi-ti-na lat^shi bu- : sa: t^hi-ru-su: k^ho sa t^he -ma:

day-DUR-ERG DUR field-LOC fertilizer one-CF if EMP CNS reach-need

त त त त्र त ;

'At least a load of manure should be carried to the field on the day.'

Je:punhi/ जे:पुनी/The full moon of Jestha

- 1) *dʒetʰ punʰibʰ p n utiko dʒatrata t ud h -ja nag hurib tas pʰusa dʒana la:u*

dʒetʰ punʰi-bh p n uti-ko dʒatra-ta t ud h -ja nag hurib tas

Jeth fullmoon-time panauti-LOC festival-PURP t ud h -POS serpent cyclone
pʰusa dʒa-na la:u

air take-IMPV go-NPST

पूणिमामा पनौतिजात्रा । । । । ।

'On the fullmoon day of May the serpent of Taudaha goes to Panauti festival with a great hurricane.'

- 2) *p un utiko lipuleu tjam dʒunale hurib tasko nag lisa la:u*

p un uti-ko lipule-u tjam dʒu-na-le hurib tas-ko nag lisa la:-u

p un uti-LOC back-NML time be-IPFV-PPOS cyclone-LOC serpent back go-NPST

। । । । ।

'On the way back from panauti a hurricane is carried with the serpent.'

- 3) *nag p n utiko labh pʰusana ho:rʰo: ladʒma h lbjaejo*

nag p n uti-ko la-b^h p^husa-na ho:rho: lad^z-ma halbja-ejo
 Serpent p n uti-LOC back-EMP aiR-INS route corn-plant lay-INF -STAT
 १ ८

'On way to panauti route the hurricane lay down the corn plants.'

- 4) *lipul^hk^ha lad^zma h lbjaejo.*

lipul-b^h -k^ha lad^za-ma halbja-ejo.
 back-time-also corn-plant lay-3STAT
 १ २ १ ८

'On way back the corn plants lay down.'

Gunakho puni /गुनखो पुनी /Rishi purnima

- 1) *g n k^hob^h penu^h : nise gedagudija l sa m^hap^hoe(g)u*

g n k^ho-b^h pe-nu^h :-nise gedagudi-ja l sa m^hap^ho-e-(g)u
 Cow festival-EMP four-day before-ABL grains-POS curry soak-INF-NPST
 १ १ अगाडिदेखि १ १

'Fourdays prior to janaipurnima the varieties of grains soaked.'

- 2) *pud^zajata duru kir^simae latija sosolwa k^hui oma d^h nt^sa suima:*

pud^za-jata duru kit^sima-ja lati-ja d^h nt^sa sosol
 worship-DAT milk extracted plant-POS leaf-POS bowl 300
 wa k^hui o-ma d^h nt^sa su-i ma:

and 65-CF bowl sew-INF need

१ २ ;

'For the offer 365 pieces of leafy bowl should be stitched.'

- 3) *pud^zaheta l sa d^za gedagudiko lilat^so t^{sh}uina kwati dagigu*

pud^za he-ta l sa d^za gedagudi-ko lilat^so t^{sh}u-i-na kwati

Worship do-PURP dishes rice beans-LOC garlic plant put-INF-IPFV soup

da-g-i-gu

boil-K-INF-NPST

, १ क्वाति

'The pulse soup with vegetable and rice should be prepared for the offering.'

- 4) *mat^he t^{sh}uii.*

mathe t^{sh}u-i-u

bread bake-INF-NPST

१

'The bread should be baked.'

- 5) *ku:, ta:, koit^sa, t^{sh}adi, isa, t^sawa d^e soigu maltal p^hukku siliu*

ku:, ta:, koit^sa, t^{sh}adi, isa, t^sa-wa d^e so-i-gu

spade, hoe, small hoe, hoe, sickle, soil-LOC work act-INF-NPST

maltal p^hukku sil-i-u

tools all rinse-INF-NPST

ɿ, , ɿ, ʃ

'The soil-working tools spade, hoe, small hoe and sickle should be cleaned.'

- 6) *La:dʰa dʰ kʰo bulagigu*

La:dʰa dʰen kʰo bula-g-i-gu

corn pop EMP carry-K-INF-NPST

ʃ

'A corn pop should be offered.'

- 7) *pudʰa heta dʰaja dj digigu*

pudʰa he-ta dʰa-ja dj di-g-i-gu

worship do-PURP boiled rice-POS idol make-K-INF-NPST

'An idol with steamed rice is prepared.'

- 8) *Ale pudʰabʰ digigu*

Ale pujabʰ di-g-i-gu

then worshipping plate make-K-INF-NPST

ɿ

'Then the dish should be ready.'

- 9) *dʰantʰako, tʰ : dʰai, kwati, matʰe tʰjaeu.*

dʰantʰa-ko, tʰ :, dʰai, kwati, matʰe tʰja-e-u

bowl-LOC also, flour, rice, soup, bread offer-INF-NPST

ṭ , , ʔ ṭ ṭ

'The bowl should be filled with flour, rice, soup and bread.'

- 10) *ku:jata mat^he n^hipa biu*

ku:-jata mat^he n^hi-pa bi-u

Spade-DAT bread two-CF give-NPST

ṭ ṭ ṭ ṭ ʔ

'Two pieces of bread should be offered to the spade.'

- 11) *d^zaija duru digana duru t^{sh}jaeu*

d^zai-ja duru di-ga-na t^{sh}ja-e-u

rice-POS milk make-K-IMPV offer-INF-NML

ṭ ṭ ṭ ṭ ʔ

The milk of rice should be offered.

- 12) *t^{sh} d^hu anale peh dj jata d^h nt^sa, madani pud^zab^h tana pud^zaheu.*

t^{sh} - d^hu a-na-le peh dj -jata d^h nt^sa, madani pud^zab^h tana

house-LOC finish-IMPV-PPOS out god-DAT bowl, madani plate put-IMPV

pud^za he-u.

worship do-NPST

ṭ ,

'The deities of outside should be offered with a bowl, and butterfly.'

- 13) *bupinile d^h nt^sa tiu.*

bu pinile d^h nt^sa ti-u

field each bowl put-NPST

ह ख

'Each of the tiers of the field offered the leafy bowl.'

- 14) *penutilja bu : uimak^hi.*

pe-nu-tilja bu- : u-i-ma-k^hi:

four-CF- DUR field-LOC go-INF NEG-COP

चारदिनसम्म न

'One should not visit the field till fourth day.'

- 15) *Asasrb^h wæ sata t^s :, d^{zh}a t^hiru nigi:ma.*

Asasrbh wæ sa-ta t^s :, d^{zh}a t^hi-ru ni-g-i: ma:

Asar-time plough ox-CF flour grass one-CF eat-INF need

रु फ ;

'The ox ploughed during plantation should be fed the flour and grass.'

bya k^h soe a si /बाया खसोए औस। Gokarne a si

- 1) *Sunt^ho duina bama murukana hiriko uina mori l^hu:.*

Sunt^ho du-i-na bama mu-ru-ka-na hiri-ko

morning wake up-INF-IMPV parents neg-be-PL-ERG tap-LOC

morning early wake up-INF-IMPV floor-sweep-IMPV water take-IMPV floor

t^hil-na l sa di-ga-na duptõ t^hik

smear up-IMPV dish make-K-IMPV all ready

he-na t^hu t^{sh} - : la:-u

do-IMPV parents' home -LOC go-NPST

f t ẽ f f f

'With all preparations daughter goes to parent's home. '

- 6) *m^hjamt^sasikari t^hu t^{sh} : laib^h bama k^he soeta ni:t^sid^z buljana lajau*

m^hjamt^sa-si-kari t^hu t^{sh} - : la-i-b^h bama k^he so-e-ta

daughter-CF-PL parents home-LOC go-INF-time parents face see-INF-PURP

ni-: t^sid^z bulja-na laja-u

eat-NML thing carry-IMPV go-NML

ẽ f f t ẽ

'Daughters carry the things that need to offer the parents.'

- 7) *pud^zab^h digana m^hjamt^sa purjasita sinina tigana bamana daksina biu.*

pud^zab^h di-ga-na m^hjamt^sa puro-ja-sita sini-na

Worship plate make-K-IMPV daughter son-GEN-DAT vermillion-ERG

ti-ga-na bama-na daksina bi-u

put-K-IMPV parents-ERG alms give-NML

ẽ f f t ẽ

m^hjamt^sasikana k^ha t^huna d^zorehena bulaiu t^sid^z bamætta tana nigau.

١٩ ٢٠ ٢١ ٢٢ ٢٣

1 1

प्रतिपदाको f f f १।

440

- 11) *bōko ina bāudj : pud^za heu*

bō-ko -i-na bāudj : pud^za he-u

Bungmati-LOC go-INF-IMPV matsendtanath worship do-NML

बुङमती : (मत्सेन्द्रनाथ) पूजा हे

'Lord Matsentra Nath will be worshiped at Bungmati.'

- 12) *bunko òina laina t^{sh} k^hapilina ja d^heba t^h u:, parsad bot^hau..*

bun-ko ò-i-na la-i-na t^{sh} k^ha pili-na

bungmati-LOC go-INF-IMPV return-INF- IMPV house each-ERG

ja d^heba t^h u-:, parsad bot^ha-u

paddy money beg-NML gift distribute-NML

इति बुङमती तः प्रसादं , , पदं पिलिना

'After returning from Bungmati they distribute Prasad and collect the paddy and money from each house.'

- 13) *djogujakana la:d^za ja t^hona b^hoe ne:u*

djo-gu-ja-kana la:d^za ja t^ho-na b^hoe ne:-u

god-guthi-POS-ERG corn paddy raise-IMPV feast eat-NML

देवगुथी , , भोजन

'The deity's organized members raise the paddy of the cornplant and enjoy the feast.'

APPENDIX III

PAHARI GLOSSARY

	[car]	<i>n.</i>		pickle.
	[jhu]	<i>emp.</i>		still.
:	[a:]	<i>adv.</i>	१	now.
	[alu]	<i>n.</i>		potato.
	[ale]	<i>cord.</i>	१	Then.
आश्चर्य	[asc ry]	<i>adj.</i>	२	surprize.
:	[ira:]	<i>n.</i>	८	wick.
१	[iri]	<i>n.</i>	आन्त्रा	intestine.
	[isa]	<i>n.</i>	१	sickle.
	[u]	<i>prn.</i>		this.
	[utha]	<i>adv.</i>		here.
	[ekaek]	<i>adv.</i>		suddenly.
ब	[ekko]	<i>adj.</i>		many.
	[a ca] <i>n.</i>		१	ring.

मि	[k mij]	n.	मि	shirt.
रु	[k ruwa]	n.	रु	water jug.
	[ka]	v.	मि	take.
किन्छि [kinchi]	adv.		मि	tomorrow.
	[ku]	n.	त	Load.
	[kujū]	n.		dog.
-	[-kunu]	ppos.	मि	on the day.
	[kurou]	n.		pea.
	[ku:]	n.	त	spade.
-	[-ko]	loc.		in.
	[koica]	n.		small hue.
	[kotha]	n.		room.
	[kor]	n.		request.
मि	[kosis]	n.	मि	attempt.
	[koso]	adv.		down.
क	[ky]	v.		show.

क	[kyen]	v.		run.
	[kh]	n.		matter.
	[kh]	v.	ख	see.
	[kh mu]	n.		pan like conveyer.
	[kha]	v.	फ ढ	pluck.
ल	[khalpu]	n.	प्र	thigh.
फ	[khiu]	cop.		is.
फ	[khile]	n.		ground.
	[khu]	v.		prepare.
ख	[khukhra]	adj.	फ	cold
	[khura]	n.		stream.
रु	[khosni]	n.		spice.
:	[g :ca]	n.		girdle.
फ	[g hile]	q.	फ ?	When?
	[ga]	n.		villages.
फ	[G n kho puni]	n.	फ	Full moon of July.

ਗੁਹਾਰੀ	[guhari]	n.	ਦੇ	help.
ਗੇਦਾਗੁਦੀ	[gedagudi]	n.		grains.
	[go]	v.		burn.
	[go]	v.	ਗੋ	lets go.
ਗੋ	[gõ]	n.		rooster.
ਗੁਵਾਰ	[gwar]	q.	ਗੋ	how old.
	[ghasa]	n.		meat.
	[gh i]	n.		tiger.
	[gh tha]	q.		where.
	[al]	v.	ਉਦਿਨੁ।	open.
ਗੋ	[i]	v.	ਦੇ	ask.
	[e]	n.		iron .
	[oja]	n.		fishes.
ਹੁ	[h :]	adv.	ਗੋ	ago.
ਹੁ	[h rkhe]	adv.	ਗੋ	in front of.
ਹੁਹਿ	[hi]	v.		wrap.

ह	[hul]	v.	ल	visit.
इह्यापुँ	[hap]	v.	क	Stop.
क	[c ku]	n.	क	knife.
म	[c mca]	n.	म	spoon.
	[c lakh]	adj		clever.
	[ca]	n.		soil
१ १	[caciri]	n.	१	children.
१	[chadi]	n.		hue.
	[can]	adv.	१	night.
	[Cana]	n.		gram.
ल	[ca:lheu]	v.		use.
ह.	[carhā]	v.	१	itching.
१	[cico]	adj.		small.
१	[cya]	n.	१	tea.
	[cula]	q.		what.
खौ	[cekhro]	adj.	१	cold.

	[ceba]	<i>n.</i>		uncle.
	[cema]	<i>n.</i>	𑌓	aunt.
	[co]	<i>adv.</i>	𑌔	peak.
𑌓	[cō]	<i>v.</i>	𑌕	stay.
𑌔	[cya]	<i>n.</i>		salt.
𑌔	[cya]	<i>q.</i>	𑌓 ?	why?
	[chā]	<i>p.</i>		your.
	[chæu]	<i>v.</i>		offer.
𑌓 𑌓	[chiri]	<i>prn.</i>		we (EXC) .
	[chu]	<i>v.</i>	𑌕 , ,	burn, fry, put.
𑌓	[churi]	<i>n.</i>	𑌓	knives.
𑌓	[ch]	<i>n.</i>		house.
	[choga]	<i>v.</i>	𑌕	lit.
	[chol]	<i>v.</i>		send.
𑌕	[j mpa]	<i>adv.</i>	𑌓	right.
𑌕	[j sti]	<i>ppos.</i>	𑌕	like.

	[ja]	<i>n.</i>		rice.
	[Ja]	<i>prn.</i>	मैं	our.
:	[ja:]	<i>n.</i>		shepherd.
	[jai]	<i>n.</i>		rice.
त्र	[jatra]	<i>n.</i>	त्र	festival.
	[jana]	<i>v.</i>	फ	taking.
फ	[jari]	<i>prn.</i>		We (INC).
	[ji]	<i>prn.</i>		I .
	[jugu]	<i>v.</i>	ल	lit.
: फ	[Je: punhi]	<i>n.</i>	ष फ	full moon of Jestha.
म्	[jesōmha]	<i>n.</i>	फ	farmer.
:	[jh :]	<i>v.</i>		graze.
	[jha]	<i>v.</i>	ढ	climb.
	[jhu a]	<i>n.</i>		bird.
	[Jhekha]	<i>n.</i>	ङ	window.
खौ	[Jhekrōu]	<i>adj.</i>	गहौ	heavy.

ਫਿ	[jhõ]	v.	ਫਿ	catch.
ਫਿ	[jha mha]	n.		shepherd.
	[t yar]	adj.		ready.
	[t r]	cord.		but.
	[ta]	v.	ਫਿ	hear, put.
:	[ta:]	n.		hue.
	[taja]	adj.	ਫਿ	tall.
ਫਿ	[tann]	adj.	ਫਿ	hot.
	[tapa]	adj.		far.
	[taha]	n.		snake.
ਫਿ	[t rha]	adj.	ਫਿ	tired.
ਫਿ	[tipyæ]	adv.		directly.
ਫਿ	[til]	n.		sesame.
	[tu]	v.		drink.
	[t]	n.		well.
ਫਿ	[tuirha]	adj.		white.

२८	[Telchi]	v.		cross.
१७४	[to]	v.		lose.
	[tocho]	n.		barley.
	[tothul]	v.		break.
	[ton]	v.	५	shine.
प्र १	[topr-tari]	v.	२१	agreed.
	[tola]	n.		hill.
	[t ud h]	n.		name of a lake.
८	[tye]	n.		lend
८	[twa]	n.		spade.
८	[twacheu]	v.		break.
:	[th rh]	adv.		today.
	[tha]	v.	११	weave.
खौँ	[thakhrōu]	adj.	६५	difficulty.
१	[thi]	adj.		one.
१	[th]	v.	४	arrive.

ਠਿਕ	[thikk]	adj.	ਠਿਕਾ	fit.
	[thu]	prn.	ਫ	self.
	[thu]	v.	ਢ ,	wrap, cook.
ਠਿਕਾ	[thuch]	n.	ਠਿਕਾ	parent's home.
ਠਿਕਾ	[thu munchi]	n		relatives.
ਠਿਕਾ	[thōla]	n.		utensils.
	[thoso]	adv.	ਠਿਕਾ	upward.
	[d hā]	adv.	ਠਿਕਾ	inside.
ਠਿਕਾ	[d hi]	n.	ਠਿਕਾ	curd.
	[daju]	n.		elder brother.
	[dare]	adv.		At the mid of.
	[dala]	n.		basket.
	[dal]	v.		cover.
ਠਿਕਾ	[d]	v.	ਠਿਕਾ	sleep.
ਠਿਕਾ	[dinkunu]	adv.	ਠਿਕਾ	on the day.
ਠਿਕਾ	[dile]	n.		snacks.

	[du]	cop.		be.
	[duko]	adj.		all.
	[duga]	n.		goat.
दु	[du]	v.	ध	finish.
दु	[duruja]	n.		rice with milk.
दु	[dusumi]	n.	(प्र)	gift (Prasad).
	[dob l]	adj.	द	double.
दु	[dh ni]	n.	दु	owner.
	[dhadhau]	adj.		big.
	[dhaba]	adj.		big.
	[dhaba]	n.		elder uncle.
	[dhama]	n.	दु	elder-mother.
दु	[dhine]	adv.	दु	above.
	[dhupu]	n.		incense.
	[dhusa]	n.	दु ठ	back.
	[dheba]	n.		money.

	[na]	n.		name.
-	[-na]	posp.	न	with.
	[nag]	n.		serpent.
	[naju:]	adv.		last year.
न न	[nini]	n		paternal-aunt
	[ni:lukhu]	n.		pure water.
	[nu]	prn.		my.
	[nuda]	dat.		to me.
	[nun]	adj.	न	warm.
	[ne]	v.		eat.
न	[nyo]	v.	न	hear.
न :	[nyo:]	v.	न न	buy.
न	[nhan]	v.		call.
नहुलि	[nhuli]	adj.		new.
न	[nhel]	v.	ह	laugh.
नह	[nhya]	n.		sun.

	[<i>f lful</i>]	<i>n.</i>		fruits.
	[<i>pa</i>]	<i>n.</i>	𑂣𑂲	axe.
	[<i>paju</i>]	<i>n.</i>		maternal auncle.
𑂣	[<i>pari hen</i>]	<i>v.</i>		feel hungry.
	[<i>palo</i>]	<i>n.</i>		ginger.
	[<i>pal</i>]	<i>v.</i>	𑂣𑂲	cut.
	[<i>pasa</i>]	<i>n.</i>		friend.
𑂣	[<i>pica</i>]	<i>n.</i>		pancake.
𑂣 𑂣	[<i>pilina</i>]	<i>ppos.</i>		instead.
𑂣	[<i>pise</i>]	<i>n.</i>	𑂣𑂲	loin cloth.
	[<i>pujabh</i>]	<i>n</i>	𑂣𑂲	worshipping plate.
𑂣	[<i>puni</i>]	<i>n.</i>	𑂣	fullmoon.
𑂣	[<i>puri</i>]	<i>n.</i>	𑂣𑂲	puri.
	[<i>puro</i>]	<i>n.</i>		son.
𑂣	[<i>purō</i>]	<i>adj.</i>		old.
	[<i>penu</i>]	<i>adv.</i>	𑂣	fourdays.

प	[pya]	adj.	फ	wet.
	[ph]	v.	क्	able.
	[pha]	v.	चिन।	split.
	[phuko]	adj.		all.
फ	[phupali]	v.		sacrific.
	[b jar]	n.		market.
	[b je]	n.		grand-ma.
न	[b nca]	n.	न	nephew.
	[baje]	n.		grand pa.
	[baba]	n.		boy.
फ	[bi]	v.	फ	give.
फ	[bicar]	n.	फ	idea.
फ फ	[bichilagu]	v.		return.
फ फ	[birami]	n.	फ फ	patient.
	[bu]	n.		field.
	[bu]	v.	न	bear.

	[<i>bujī</i>]	<i>n.</i>	ਭੁਜੀ	beaten rice.
	[<i>bul hu</i>]	<i>adv.</i>	ਭੁਲ ਹੁ	slowly.
	[<i>bul</i>]	<i>v.</i>		carry.
	[<i>belā</i>]	<i>n.</i>	ਭੇਲਾ	farewell, time.
	[<i>bo</i>]	<i>v.</i>	ਭੋ	fly.
ਭੂ	[<i>bō</i>]	<i>n.</i>		floor.
ਭੈ	[<i>bya</i>]	<i>n.</i>	ਭੈ	wedding.
ਭਾ	[<i>bh kundo</i>]	<i>n.</i>	ਭਾ	ball.
	[<i>bhartal</i>]	<i>n.</i>		replacement.
	[<i>bhakeheu</i>]	<i>v.</i>	ਭਾਕੇ	bow down.
	[<i>bhaca</i>]	<i>adj.</i>	ਭਾ	some.
ਭਾ	[<i>bhancha</i>]	<i>n.</i>	ਭਾ	kitchen.
	[<i>bh :</i>]	<i>n.</i>	ਭਾ	cat.
	[<i>bh </i>]	<i>n.</i>		plate.
ਭ	[<i>bhuri</i>]	<i>n.</i>		bean.
	[<i>bhera</i>]	<i>adv.</i>	ਭਰਾ	horizontally.

	[bhera]	n.	ਫਿ	turban.
ਫਿ	[bhontho]	adv.		evening.
	[m the]	n.	ਫਿ	bread.
	[m n]	n.	ਫਿ	sister.
ਫਿ	[m ri]	n.		soya.
	[m s la]	n.		spice.
ਫਿ	[makhi]	neg.		not.
	[maltal]	n.		tools
ਫਿ	[malpa]	n.		a dough bread.
ਫਿ	[mi]	v.	ਫਿ	sell.
ਫਿ /	[miji/o /]	adv.	ਫਿ	yesterday.
ਫਿ	[mire]	prb.		do not.
	[mu]	v.	ਓਸਿਨ੍ਨੁ।	steam.
ਫਿ	[m ru]	v.		like.
ਫਿ	[munche]	n.	ਫਿ	person.
ਫਿ	[muhagiu]	v.	ਫਿ	sensitize.

	[<i>megu</i>]	<i>adj.</i>	𑖓	next.
	[<i>mesa</i>]	<i>n.</i>		bufallo.
𑖓	[<i>mori</i>]	<i>n.</i>		head.
𑖓	[<i>mhaphoe</i>]	<i>v.</i>	𑖓	soak.
𑖓	[<i>mhal</i>]	<i>v.</i>	𑖓	search.
𑖓 𑖓 𑖓	[<i>mhuskurō</i>]	<i>adj.</i>		yellow.
𑖓	[<i>mhyamca</i>]	<i>n.</i>	𑖓	daughter.
	[<i>ya</i>]	<i>n.</i>		paddy.
𑖓	[<i>y</i>]	<i>n.</i>	𑖓	Kathmandu
	[<i>yo</i>]	<i>v.</i>	𑖓	like.
	[<i>l</i>]	<i>n.</i>		way.
	[<i>l sa</i>]	<i>n.</i>	𑖓	dishes.
	[<i>la</i>]	<i>n.</i>		hand.
𑖓	[<i>lajma</i>]	<i>n.</i>		corn plant.
𑖓	[<i>lati</i>]	<i>n.</i>		leaf.
𑖓	[<i>labj</i>]	<i>n.</i>		finger.

	[las]	v.		go.
𑀓	[li]	n.	𑀓	leg.
𑀓	[lipuleu]	v.	𑀓 𑀓	return.
𑀓	[liba]	adv.	𑀓	late.
𑀓	[lisa]	adv.	𑀓	again.
𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀮𑀲𑀢𑀺𑀭𑀮𑀲𑀢𑀺	[liskya]	v.	𑀓	draw.
	[lukhu]	n.		water.
𑀓	[lumkhe]	adv.	𑀓	behind.
:	[le:-ta]	adj.		happy.
	[leg]	n.	𑀓	shoes.
:	[lo:]	n.	𑀓	stick.
	[lokha]	n.		door.
𑀓	[lyā]	n.	𑀓,	blouse, clothes.
𑀓	[lyæ]	v.	𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀮𑀲𑀢𑀺𑀭𑀮𑀲𑀢𑀺	spread.
𑀓 : / 𑀓 𑀓	[lh :/ ō]	n.	𑀓	stone.
𑀓	[lhu]	v.		bath.

ल॑	[lhō]	adj.		fat.
	[w]	cord.		and.
	[w]	v.		go.
	[w so]	n.		clothes.
	[wa]	n.		rain.
	[wæra: l sa]	n.	ह॑	green vegetables.
	[wal]	v.	द॑	blend.
द॑	[byapari]	n.	द॑	businessman.
	[s ras r]	adv.		straight.
	[saman]	n.		tool.
	[sayad]	emp.		probably.
	[sal]	v.	प॑	fetch.
ह॑	[si]	v.	प॑ , द॑	know, fry.
ह॑	[s]	n.		wood
-ह॑	[-sina]	ppos.	प॑	than.
-ह॑ ह॑	[-sini]	cns.	ह॑	if.

सि	[sini]	n.	सि	vermillion.
सि	[sima]	n.	रु	tree.
सि	[sira]	adj.		red.
सिरिनखो	[sirin kho]	n.	सिठि	sithi festival.
सि	[sil]	v.	ल	wash.
सिल्मा	[silma]	n.		liver.
	[si:ra:]	adj.		red.
	[su]	n.		oil.
सु	[suntho]	adv.	सि	morning.
सु	[sumi]	n.		snacks.
	[sula]	q.	?	Who?
सि	[sō]	v.		move.
	[soc]	n.		thought.
	[sono]	n.		flower.
	[sorukunu]	adv.	सि ल	next day.
	[soro]	n.		horse.

सु	[solsi]	<i>n.</i>	फ	kidneybean.
रु	[sye]	<i>v.</i>		kill.
	[hæu]	<i>v.</i>	स	sprinkle.
	[hakha]	<i>adv.</i>	फ	again.
रु	[hakhra]	<i>adj.</i>		black.
	[halu]	<i>n.</i>	ल	noise.
ल	[halbjaeu].	<i>v.</i>	ल	lay down.
फ	[hi]	<i>v.</i>		wash.
फ	[hija]	<i>n.</i>	प	sweet-potato.
फ	[hile]	<i>n.</i>		turmeric.
:	[h]	<i>p.</i>	त	that.
	[h tha]	<i>adv.</i>	त	there.
फ	[hurib tas]	<i>n.</i>	फ	hurricane.
	[he]	<i>v.</i>		do.
फ	[hori]	<i>adj.</i>	फ	as much.
ह,	[ho:rho:]	<i>adv.</i>		enroute.

APPENDIX IV

DISTRICTWISE PAHARI CENSUS 2001

Regions	TotalL	Caste		Total	Mother Tongue	
		Male	Female		Male	Female
Nepal	11505	5803	5702	2995	1554	1441
Eastern Dev. Region	496	231	265	11	9	2
<i>Districts</i>						
Ilam	25	14	11			
Jhapa	9	4	5	1	1	
Morang	6	4	2			
Sunsari	9	6	3			
Sankhuwasabha	1	1				
Bhojpur	264	123	141			
Solukhumbu	2	1	1			
Okhaldhunga	107	42	65			
Khotang	4	2	2			
Udayapur	60	34	26	9	7	2
Saptari	3	1	2			
Siraha	4	2	2			
Terhathum				1	1	
Western Dev.Region	44	20	24			
<i>District</i>						
Gorkha	10	5	5			

Lamjung	3		3			
Tanahu	3	1	2			
Syanja	1	1				
Gulmi	8	5	3			
Kapilvastu	1		1			
Arghakhachi	17	8	9			
Midwestern Dev. Region	6	3	3			
<i>Districts</i>						
Dang	6	3	3			
Farwestern Dev. Region	337	166	171			
<i>Districts</i>						
Bajhang	42	21	21			
Kailali	13	7	6			
Kanchanpur	7	4	3			
Baitadi	233	113	120			
Darchula	42	21	21			
Central Dev. Region	5383	5239		2984	1545	1439
<i>Zone : Narayani</i>						
<i>Districts</i>						
Sarlahahi District	31	17	14	14	9	5
<i>VDCS</i>						
Karmaiya	15			14		
Noukilawa	6					

Netraganj	8					
<i>Zone: Janakpur</i>						
Sindhuli District	732	368	364	18	8	5
<i>VDCS</i>						
Bahuntilpung	14					
BelghariI	9					
Dubhanjyang	23					
Hariharpurgadh	17					
Jhangajholi	20					
Kamalamai NP	24					
Kapiloakot	15			15		
Kyaneshwor	59					
Mahendra Jhayadi	42					
Nipane	12					
Pipalmadi	480					
Ranibas	10					
Ramechap District	903	431	471	558	287	271
<i>VDCS</i>						
Chanakhu	29					
Chuchure	5					
Dimipokhari	6					
Doramba	171			143		
Gelu	118					

Gunshibhadaure	35					
Lakhanpur	118					
Phulasi	13					
Pinkhuri	71					
Ramechap	16					
Tokharpur	118			73		
Dolakha District	5	2	3			
<i>VDC</i>						
Lapilang	5					
ZONE : Bagmati						
Sindhupalchok	488	248	240			
<i>VDCS</i>						
Fatakshila	9					
Ghuskun	272					
Kadambas	167					
Mankha	16					
Sangachok	9					
Tokanpur	15					
Kabhrepalanchok District	3500	1747	1753	558	287	271
<i>VDCS</i>						
Bhimkhori	10					
Chalal ganesthan	9					
Choubas	660					

Deurali Baluwa	7					
Dhulikhel NP	11					
Dolalghat	125			95		
Golpani	42					
Kartike Deurali	75					
Kolati Bhumlu	468					
Mangaltar	14					
Panauti NP	368					
Saldhara	60					
Salle Bhumlu	57					
Saping	287					
Sathighar Bhagabati	254			104		
Simthali	470					
Lalitpur District	3277	1688	1589	1957	1028	928
<i>VDCS</i>						
<i>Badikhel</i>	<i>1806</i>			<i>1555</i>		
Chapagaun	156			19		
Godawari	135					
Jharuwarasi	17					
Lalitpur NP	12					
Lele	1145			376		
Sankhu	6					
Bhaktapur	27	12	15			

VDCS

Chhaling	9			
Katunje	14			
Kathmandu	81	44	37	
Jorpati	9			
Kapan	5			
Kathmandu NP	27			
Lapsiphedi	36			

Zone : Narayani

Makawanpur District	1100	576	526	177	86	91
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VDCs

Basamadi	10			
Fakhel	7			
Faparbari	111		90	
Hetauda NP	18			
Raigaun	898		73	
Sreepur Chhatiwan	7			

Sisneri Mahadevthan	49					
Rautahat District	333	176	157	39	19	20
Chandranigahapur	206			39		

VDCs

Dumaria/Matinua	5			
Kakapur	48			

Mayurpur	32		
Paurai	29		
Rangpur	13		
Bbara	53	29	24
Nijgadh	53		
Parsa District	12	5	7
Parsaunimatha	10		
Chitwan	1	1	

Source: Population Census 2001, Caste Ethnicity ,Mother Tongue an Religion

Appendix V

Verb paradigms in Pahari language

C	G	SF	V	1SGPST	2SGPST	1/2PLPST	3PST	1SGNPST	1PL/2/3NPST
I	'give'	i	bi	-u -ni	-u -na	-u -r u	-u -ri	-	-u
II	'sew'	u	su	-: -ni	-: -na	-: -r u	-: -ri	-	-:
	'put off'		t ^w	-: -ni	-: -na	-: -r u	-: -ri	-	-:
	'climb'	a	dz ^h a	-: -ni	-: -na	-: -r u	-: -ri	-	-:
	'lock'	o	go	-: -ni	-: -na	-: -r u	-: -ri	-	-:
III	'say'	e	he	-: -ni	-: -na	-: -r u	-: -ri	-	-
	'clean'	l	sil	-: -ni	-: -na	-: -r u	-: -ri	-	-
	'call'	n	n ^h an	-: -ni	-: -na	-: -r u	-: -ri	-	-
	'play'	t	m ^h et	-: -ni	-: -na	-: -r u	-: -ri	-	-
IV	'patch'	k	pulk	-a -ni	-a -na	-a -r u	-a -ri	-	-a:

Detailed paradigm of non-finite verbs in Pahari language

C	G	SF	V	1SG	1PL/2/3	IMP	SH	PTPINF	PFV
---	---	----	---	-----	---------	-----	----	--------	-----

I High front vowel ending (HF)

1. give	i	bi	-	- u	- i	- ya/o	- na	- i	- d ^h u
---------	---	----	---	-----	-----	--------	------	-----	--------------------

II High back plus mid vowel ending (HB)

2. sew	u	su	-	- :	- i ³²	- ya/o	- na - i	- d ^h u
3. put off		t ^w	-	- :	- e	- ya/o	- na - e	- d ^h u
4. climb	a	j ^h a	-	- :	- e	- ya/o	- na - e	- d ^h u
5. lock	o	go	-	- :	- e	- ya/o	- na - e	- d ^h u

III Mixed ending (MX)

6. say	e	he	-	- :	- ø	- ya/o	- na - e	- d ^h u
7. rinse	l	sil	-	- :	- i	- ya/o	- na - e	- d ^h u
8. call	n	n ^h an	-	- :	- i	- ya/o	- na - e	- d ^h u
9. play	r	m ^h er	-	- :	- i	- ya/o	- na - e	- d ^h u

IV Consonant ending (C)

10. patch	k	pulk -a	-	- a:	- a	- ya /o	- na - e	- d ^h u
-----------	---	---------	---	------	-----	---------	----------	--------------------

	C	G	SF	V	INF
I		'give' i	bi	- i	
II		'born' u	bu	- i	
		'put off'		t ^w	- e
		'lock'	o go	- e	
		'climb'	a	j ^h a	- e
III		'say'	e	he	- e
		'call'	n	n ^h an	- e
		'rub'	l	bul	- e
		'play'	t	m ^h er	- e

³² /-e/ an imperative suffix of this group of verbs goes into the process of *vowel raising* (/i/) to equalize with preceding high vowel /u/ in which it has to attach.

V	'patch'	k	pulk	- a
---	---------	---	------	-----

Stative / Habitual

C	G	SF	V	S/SH	NS/SH
I	'give' i	bi	- yã ³³	- yo	
II	'sew'	u su	- yã		- yo
	'put off'	t ^w	- yã		- yo
	'lock'	o go	- yã		- yo
	'climb'	a	d ^{zh} a	- yã	- yo
III	'say'	e	he	- yã	- yo
	'call'	n	n ^h an	- yã	- yo
	'rinse' l	sil	- yã		- yo
	'play'	t	m ^h er	- yã	- yo
V	'patch'	k	pulk-a	- yã	- yo

Causative

C	G	SF	V	K
I	'give' i	bi	- ga	
II	'born' u	bu	- ga	
	'put off'		tw	- ga

³³ <- ÿã> in SHS for SFs /i and u/, it is because of high front and back vowel.

	'lock'	o	go	- ga
	'climb'	a	j ^h a	- ga
III	'say'	e	he	- ga
	'call'	n	n ^h an	- ga
	'rub'	l	bul	- ga
	'play'	t	mher	- ga
V	'patch'	k	pulk- a	- ga

APPENDIX VI

100 WORD SWADESH LIST OF PAHARI

	GLOSS	NEPALI	PAHARI
1.	I	m	ji
2.	we	hami	jari
3.	he	u	hõ
4.	you	timi	chi
5.	this	yo	u
6.	who	ko	silā
7.	what	ke	culā
8.	not	ch ina	ma
9.	all	s p i	phukk
10.	many/much	dher i	y kko
11.	one	ek	thi
12.	two	dsui	nisi
13.	big	Thulo	dhaba
14.	long	lamo	taha
15.	small	sano	chaco
16.	woman	aimai	mamtõ
17.	man	logne manis	babtõ
18.	person	vyakti	munche
19.	fish	mac ^h a	a
20.	bird	c ra	jhu a
21.	dog	kukur	kuju
22.	louse	jumra	si

23.	tree	ruk ^h	sima
24.	seed	biu	pusa
25.	leaf	pat	lati
26.	root	j ra	hakhi
27.	bark	bokra	khula
28.	skin	chala	chugra
29.	meat	masu	gasha
30.	flesh	masu	nothi
30.	blood	ragat	hi
31.	bone	haD	kusa
32.	fat/grease	boso	da:
33.	egg	p ^h ul	kh ja
34.	horn	si	hui
35.	tail	pucc ^h	mhujī
36.	feather	pvāk ^h	pak ^h i
37.	hair	r	s
38.	head	Tauko	che
39.	ear	kan	nhisapuru
40.	eye	āk ^h a	mi
41.	nose	nak	nhise
42.	mouth	muk ^h	to:
43.	teeth	dāt	wa
44.	tongue	jibro	me
45.	nail	n	kuchi
46.	leg	k ^h uTTa	li
47.	knee	gh Da	pukhu

48.	hand	hat	la:
49.	belly	peT	pari
50.	neck	gardhangapuro	
51.	throat	g ^h āti	k rpo:
51.	breast	st n	duru
52.	heart	muTu	lug
53.	liver	k lezo	silma
54.	drink	piunu	to
55.	eat	k ^h anu	ni:u
56.	bite	Toknu	wanha
57.	see	hernu	soeu
58.	ask		ni
59.	rich		dhani
60.	know		tha:duima
61.	die	marnu	si:
62.	kill		sie
63.	son in law		ji:
64.	fly		boe
65.	go		oi
66.	come		lae
67.	lean		lidh
68.	sit	b snu	cō
69.	stand	uT ^h nu	do
70.	give	dinu	biu
71.	say	b ^h nnu	heu
72.	sun	g ^h am	surdy

73.	moon	juun	nhyaedy
74.	star	tara	ni i
75.	water	pani	lukhu
76.	rain	varsha	pani
77.	stone	D ^h unga	lh
78.	rain	barsha	wa
79.	sand	baluwa	phisa
80.	earth	j min	b
81.	cloud	bad l	khusi
81.	smoke	dh wa	mi:hi
82.	fire	ago	mi
83.	ash	k ^h rani	ili
84.	burn	b lnu	tiu
85.	anger		tõ
86.	path	baTo	lã
87.	red	rato	sirha
88.	green	h riyo	wãera
89.	yellow	p helo	mhuskhurõ
90.	white	seto	tuirha
91.	black	kalo	hakhra
92.	night	rat	cane
93.	hot	tato	ko:u
94.	cold	ciso	khukhra
95.	full	b ^h ri	jakk
96.	new	n yã	nhuli
97.	good	ramro	bã:la:

98.	round	golo	ca:la:
99.	dry	suknu	gõ
100.	name	naam	n :
101.	sleep		di
102.	mouth		tolha
103.	testes		pukhu guli

APPENDIX VII

Days

<i>Kodpa</i>	<i>English</i>
aitbar	Sunday
s uunbar	Monday
mang lbar	Tuesday
budhbar	Wednesday
biibar	Thursday
sukbar	Friday
s ncarbar	Saturday

Months

B isak	B isak
Jeth	Jet ^h
sar	sar
Saun	Saun
Bh dau	B ^h dau
souj	soj
Kattik	Kattik
Munsir	M sir
Pus	Pus
Mag	Magh
Phagun	Phagun
Ch it	Ch it

Seasons

B s nta	spring
B rkha	summer
hiund	winter

Heavenly bodies

Surje	sun
tara	star
bhumi	earth

Geographical entities

l ri	river
pakhan	plateu

APPENDIX VIII

Sociolinguistic questionnaire

1. Respondent's detail

- a) Name
- b) Sex
- c) Age
- d) Place of birth
- e) The place where you grow
- f) The place where you are living
- g) Education level
- h) Religion
- i) Occupation

2. Name of language (Glonym)

a) Autonym

- i) What do you call your language?
- ii) Does that have special meaning?
- iii) If yes, what is it?
- iv) Do you have other names of your language?

b) Exonym

- i) Do other people have a different name for your language?
- ii) What do they call it?
- iii) Who call it that?
- iv) Does that have special meaning?

3. Dialects

- a) Where else do people speak just the same way as you do?

- b) Do all your own people speak the same area as you?
- c) Where do people speak just a little bit differently?
- d) Where do people speak very differently?
- e) How much of it do you understand?
- f) Where do people speak your own language the most purely?
- g) Where is your language spoken badly?

4. Multilingualism

- a) Are you monolingual?
- b) Are you bilingual or multilingual?
- c) What other languages are spoken in your area?
- d) Who speaks them?
- e) What other languages can you speak?
- f) How well? Only greetings, weather, selling and buying, most common topics,
sufficiently to discuss intimate personal problems, sufficiently to discuss abstract and
complex adequately)
- g) Under what circumstances do you speak these languages?
- h) Attitudes towards other languages (which language) : hostile, reserved, indifferent,
and friendly.

5. Language attitude

- a) Do you like your language?
- b) Do you think that your language will live long?
- c) In what ways is it an advantage to speak Nepal?
- d) Is there an advantage to speak your language?
- e) Is the language sufficient for communication?
- f) What language do you want your children to learn?
- g) Will the children learn first Pahari?
- h) Will the children learn and follow Pahari?

i) When your children grow up what language do you think they will learn?

j) Will you or other young people prefer to marry Pahari speaker?

k) Will the young have pride in their language?

l) Do you think that your language should be preserved?

6. Domains of use of language

Serial No	Domain of language	Language Choice			
		Always Pahari	Usually Pahari	Always Nepali	Usually Nepali
1	With parents				
2	With siblings				
3	With spouse(if married)				
4	With own children (if any)				
5	With village friends				
6	With village leaders				
7	While buying things at the market.				
8	With governmental officials				
9	While observing religious performances				
10	While singing songs				
11	While expressing your deepest feeling				
12	While making jokes and telling stories				
13	While talking about the political matters				

Sociolinguistic questionnaire

7. Language retention and maintainance

a) what language do your children speak?

b) what do you expect your children speak later in their life?

c) why do you expect your children speak later in their life?

d) What do you feel/corrupted about the language you use now and your father and grand father did? (different? Same?, degraded? strengthened?)

e) do you think the language will sustain for ever?

f) Do all the people in your village speak the same as you?

g) What other group are there?

- h) Do you know thresher h ote other languages?
- i) Do your children know these other languages?
- j) Do you children mix other language with yours?
- k) Do they speak your language purely?
- l) Have you or your government done think to preserve it?
- m) Does the language exist in written forms?

8. Intergenerational language transmission

How often do the members of each generation use the language with other generation in their contact?

[Specify the frequency as follows: 5=always in this language; 4=more in this language than others; 3=equally often in either language; 2= more in other language than in this language; 1= always in other language.]

The people		...speaks the language with							
		The elderly		Adults		Young people		Children	
		men	women	Men	women	men	women	Boys	Girls
The elderly	Men								
	Women								
Adults	Men								
	Women								
Young people	Men								
	Women								
Children	Boys								
	Girls								

9. Ethnology

- a) Is your community which speaks this language in danger?
- b) What are the main economic activities of this community?
- c) What are the religions of the community?
- d) Where did your own ethnic community come from?
- e) When did they come?
- f) Why did they come?

APPENDIX IX

Hodgson 1880

Brian Houghton Hodgson Vol I, *Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects*. London: Trubner & co., Ludgate Hill 1880 / New Delhi. Madras: Asian Educational Services. 1992. pp 164-169.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGES OF BROKEN TRIBES OF NEPAL

English	Pa hi vel pahi
Air	Phú-sá
Ant	Mig-za
Arrow	Bára
Bird	Bĩ-khíncha / Bu-khin-cha
Blood	Hi
Boat	Dón-ga
Bone	Ku-sá
Buffalo	Mé-sá
Cat	Bhí
Cow	Mó-sá
Crow	Kó-kó
Day	Nhi-na-ko
Dog	Ku-ju. Ku
Ear	Nhúa-puru
Earth	Chá
Egg	Khén-ja

Elephant	Ki-si
Eye	Mí-gi
Father	Bá
Fish	Nyó-já
Flower	Só-nó
Foot	Lí
Goat	Chá-lá
Hair	Són
Hand	Lá
Head	Chhé
Hog	Phó
Horn	Mhú-ní
Horse	Sa-ro
House	Chén
Iron	Né
Leaf	La-ti
Light	Ja-la
Man	Man-che
Monkey	Mú-ga
Moon	Nhí-bá
Mother	Mí
Mountain	Tólhá

Mouth	Mhúr
Muschito	Pa-ti
Name	Nu-ng
Night	Chá-nâkô/ chan-ko
Oil	Sú
Plantain	Mó-syi. Mozyí
River	Khá-rá
Road	Lóng
Salt	Chí-há
Skin	Chúg-ra
Sky	Sá-rá-g
Snake	Bí
Star	Nú-ng-gi / Nung-gni
Stone	Lhong-go / Lho-ng-g-no
Sun	Su-je
Tiger	Dhún
Tooth	Wá
Tree	Sí-má
Village	Gón
Water	Lú-khú
Yam	Sá-gí
I	Núng and Já

Thou	Chhúng.Chhí
He.She.It	Hó. Ú
We	Já-di
Ye	Chhá-di
They	Ú-si. Ho-si
My	Núng-gu. Já-gu
Thy	Chhúng-gu
His.Hers.Its	Hong-gu / H-wang-gu
Our*	Já-gu
Your	Chhá-gu
Their	As-ya-gu. Asya-gu
One	Chhí or Chhi-gu
Two	Ní or Ni-ng-gu
Three	Súng or Sung-gu
Four	Pi or Pi-ng-gu
Five	Ngo or Ngo-ng-gu
Six	Khú or Khu-ng-gu
Seven	Nhé or Nhe-ng-gu
Eight	Chyá or Chya-nggu
Nine	Gún or Gung-gu
Ten	Gí or Gi-ng-gu
Twenty	Ní

Thirty	Sun
Forty	Pí í
Fifty	Ngé-é
Hundred	Sá-chí
Of	Yá. Yágu
To	Yá-ta
From	A'ng
With	Nang
In. On	Gar-hi-né
On. Upon	Caret
Now	Alaga
Then	Wélhe
When	Gwé-thé
To-day	Tha-ra
To-morrow	Kín-chi
Yesterday	Mi-zyé
Here	Thúgu-Thá
There	Hong-tha
Where	Gu-thá
Above	Cho-gu-tha
Below	Ko-gú-thá
Between	Dári

Outside	Pen-há
Within	Dohon
Far	Ta-pa-le
Near	Nhyár-ke
Little	Bháchá
Much. Many	Chóhóng
Howmuch	Gu-ri
As	Géré
So	Hé-ré
Thus	Yé-ré
How?	Gi-re
Why?	Caret
Yes	Khyú
No	Má-khí
Do not	Míre
And	Khá
Or	Kí.Lá
Which.	A'rkhyá-gu
Which	Hórkhyá-gu
Which?	Gú-gú.
Who?	Gu-hmo
Something	Chala

Somebody	Súnung
Good	Bhing-gu-hma
Bad	Ma-bhing-gu-hma
Cold	Khu-khu-dha
Hot	Kwá-gu-hma
Raw	Ka-zhi-gu-hma
Ripe	Bú-gu
Sweet	Chág-gu
Sour	Pa-lu-gu
Bitter	Khá-khá-dha
Handsom	Bánbla-gu-hma
Ugly	Bámbla-gu-hma
Straight	Tipyúng-gu-hma
Crooked	Phara-só-gu-hma
Black	Há-ku-gu-hma
White	Túyú-gu-hma
Red	Sí-dha-gu
Green	Wón-wón-dha
Long	Tá-há-gu
Short	Púti-ha-gu
Tall man	Tha-so
Short man	Kho-so

Large	Hwongu-dha-gu
Small	Chi-ja-gu / Chigi-dha-gu
Round	Gónágu
Flat	Pherchya-kyen-gu
Square	Pekúung-la-gu
Fat	Lhóng-hmo
Thin	Gang-si-hma
Weariness	Nél-nu. Ngal-nu
Thirst	Pyá-há
Hunger	Ha. He-nu
Eat	Né
Drink	Tó-in
Sleep	Dyún
Awake	Dón
Laugh	Nhi-li
Weep	Khwé
Speak	Lhá
Be-silent	Sunán-chón
Come	Yá
Go	L ásón
Get up	Dáingchon
Sit down	Kujung-chon

Walk	Go
Run	Kéng-gno/Ke-in-go/Ke-ng-go
give	Bí-chhon
Take	Há-ya
Strike	Dá-chhon
Kill	Pá-li
Bring	Bú-yá
Take away	Búláson.Búlá-son
Lift-up	Bú-gno.Bu-n-go
Put down	Ti-gne. Ti-n-ge
Hear	Nyú
Understand	Thú-í
Tell. Explain	Kyén

APPENDIX X

Thokarpa Pahari

Bandhu (1967:9-10) has surveyed pahai dialect of Thokarpa, sindhupalchok. As he reports the numbers of paharis were 3002. Some of the paharis have adopted Nepali instead of pahari. He was encountered that the paharis from ghuskun, kodari gaun and Jamune of sindhupalchok spoke Nepali whereas the paharis of thokarpa did pahari. The name Pahari was given by Wims. Grierson has examined the language and classified it as a dialect of Newar. Paharis classify themselves into two categories namely - pure () and hybrid (). As they claim they were originated from Simraungadh. On the basis of language they seemed to be Newar. There is more proximity between Newar and Pahari. There are so many words from Nepali, Danuvari, Majhi and Tamang.

The Thokarpa pahari has following linguistic features:

1. /-bal/ is the plural marker for noun and pronoun. eg

poto (son) poto-bal (sons)

ala (s/he) ala-bal (they)

2. Pahari has no grammatical gender. In some case /mes-/ is prefixed to make feminine word. eg

poto (son) poto-mes (daughter)

3. Pahari has the following cases:

Agentive - Instrumental	n	za i (I ate food)
	chenalan	za eb (you ate rice with hand)
Accusative - Dative	te ente kam bi	(give me a job)
	chen nent kitap bijo	(you gave ma a book)
Ablative	akan che ekanan ating	(you walked from the house)
Possessive	zi ch malik h u	(I am the owner of this house)
Locative	i mespoto chei e	((My) daughter goes home)

4. These are the pronouns:

ze, zi	(I)	zivasi, zibal	(we)
che	(you)	chevasi, chebal	(you pl.)
al	(s/he)	albal	(they)

5. They can count only six numerals.

1 - thi, 2 - is, 3 - son, 4 - pe , 5 - a, 6 - khu, 7 - sat (nep), 8 - ath(nep), 9 - n u(nep), 10 - d s (nep).

Ordinals are used in Nepali. thi - p lt (one- time), thi - khep(thi-load), thi-baza (one instrument)etc.

ei (eat) verb inflection is as follows:

present	ei: (1s eat)	ei (1p eat)
	eo (2s eat)	eu (2p eat)
	eu (3s eats)	eu (3p eat)
past	ii (1 ate)	yargo (1p ate)
	ina (2s ate)	yargoza(2p ate)
	eo (3s ate)	e (3p ate)
future	e (1s eat)	na e (3p eat)
	i id u (2s eat)	i id u (2p eat)
	i id u (3s eat)	i id u (3p eat)
Permissive	ey Ð (let me eat)	ey Ð(let's eat)
	ya (let eat)	ya(eat)
	ya (may eat)	ya (may eat)

7. **Causative** construction -

ay (walks)

yaik u (made walks)

tau (hears)

taik u (made hear/ recites)

8. /me/ is the **negative marker**. Sometime /na/ is used as negative marker.

kam hãco (I will work) kam mehãco (I willnot work)

enip (I went)

napumm ena (I did not go)

9. **Verbal derivatives** are as follows:

nominal ei (to eat), hii (to wash), tõi (to drink)

present c u (sitting), e eu (eating), zuzu (being)

past hurkezi (grown up) kh l i (cut) al i (run)

10. **Adverbs**

Adverb of place

tukufa (down), hucufa (up), efa (near), huffa (remote), dunna (in), pinna (out), ani (before), likh (after), hubi (there), ale (here), afa (thither)

Adverb of time

tha (now), guli (when), mei (yesterday , the day before yesterday), ak ni (before), kini (tomorrow, the day afer tomorrow), bucc h i (early in the morning), nivar i (in the day)

Adverb of manner - othen (thus), gothen (how)

11. **Conjunction** - n bh, t r, kho (also), kho(r), carte (why, because

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